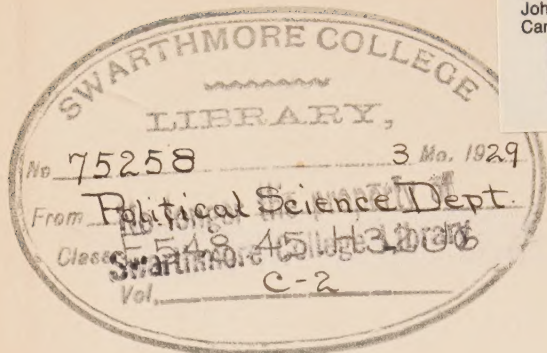

CARTER HENRY HARRISON I



CLAUDIUS O. JOHNSON

Social Science Studies



MONSIGNOR WILLIAM BARRY MEMORIAL LIBRARY
BARRY UNIVERSITY

F548.45 .H32

Johnson, Claudius Osborne 010101 000

Carter Henry Harrison I, polit



0 2210 0108616 6

F
548.45
.H32

206089

Msgr. Wm. Barry Memorial Library
Barry University
Miami, FL 33161

JOHNSON

CARTER HENRY HA...

Mini.

note



Faint, illegible text or markings below the stamp.

SOCIAL SCIENCE STUDIES

**DIRECTED BY THE LOCAL COM-
MUNITY RESEARCH COMMITTEE
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO**

NUMBER XI

THE "SOCIAL SCIENCE STUDIES" are an expression of community of interests of the social sciences. The publication of these studies is one of the results of a comprehensive program of research which has been undertaken by a group or conference of departments. The formation of this conference is an outgrowth of the belief that the social sciences should engage more actively and systematically in co-operative consideration of their problems and methodology. This does not imply any diminution of interest in the development of their special fields. The studies, therefore, are to include the results of scientific investigations usually associated with the fields of each of the participating departments. But they will also include the results of joint investigations of several or all of these departments as well as studies in related fields.

LOCAL COMMUNITY RESEARCH COMMITTEE

L. C. MARSHALL

Department of Economics

ELLSWORTH FARIS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

C. E. MERRIAM

Department of Political Science

M. W. JERNEGAN

Department of History

JAMES HAYDEN TUFTS

Department of Philosophy

EDITH ABBOTT

Graduate School of Social Service Administration

L. D. WHITE, *Executive Secretary*

CARTER HENRY HARRISON I
Political Leader

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA, LIMITED
TORONTO

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED
SHANGHAI



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023



HARRISON AS WORLD'S FAIR MAYOR OF CHICAGO

CARTER HENRY HARRISON I

Political Leader

BY

CLAUDIUS O. JOHNSON, PH.D.

*Professor of Political Science in the
University of Chattanooga*



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Barry University Library
Miami, FL 33161

COPYRIGHT 1928 BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

All Rights Reserved

Published August 1928

12-18
15
The Univ.
Swanton, N.H.
H. 52.16
17

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

INTRODUCTION

One of the most interesting aspects of the development of political leadership is that arising in a modern urban situation. Typically our occupation has been agricultural and our environment rural. Likewise our political practices and standards have been of the same color, and inevitably political leaders functioning in such situations have assumed similar characteristics.

The modern city, however, presents a somewhat different problem, particularly in the United States. The industrial background of the urban community, the newness of its population, the heterogeneity of its composition, its rapid growth and development, the basic changes in the ways of life, the necessary readjustment of the individual and the reorganization of his cultural patterns corresponding to these new situations—all these have inevitably a profound effect upon political mores, political thinking, and political types. It may be seriously questioned whether we have been able to analyze successfully the specific influences or effects of the urban environment as contrasted with the rural environment, but that there are such differences, however difficult it may be to describe and define them with precision, scarcely anyone would dispute.

Much of the attention of students of urban communities in their political relations has hitherto been centered around the criticism of the abominations of urban political life. Immediately upon his appearance after the Civil War, the urban boss, best exemplified in the person of Tweed, became the target of universal anathema. In the general condemnation visited upon him relatively little attention was given to minute analysis of his personal characteristics or to the back-

ground of the social and political situation out of which he sprung. Similarly, there was much more emotion than intelligence in the examination of the machine, the spoils system, and other similar incidents of urban existence. Nor was the question raised as to what type of leader the city might produce, assuming the continuing existence of the urban environment.

In more recent times, however, more scientific attempts have been made to analyze more objectively the urban group and to delineate with greater care and with more objectivity the political profile of the urban leader. The most significant of these efforts, and I regret to say almost the only one, is Dr. Harold F. Gosnell's study of *Boss Platt and His New York Machine*.

In my Introduction to that study attention was directed to the urgent necessity for the study of a wide variety of types of political leaders, and a number of such studies have been completed since then. Mr. Roy V. Peel has made an acute analysis of James G. Blaine as a political leader; Miss Marietta Stevenson, of William Jennings Bryan; Miss Pearl Robertson, of Grover Cleveland; and a number of other less elaborate studies have reached various stages of completion.

Mr. Johnson's study of Carter Harrison, Sr., is a significant attempt to study the social situation under which an urban leader has developed, to examine as carefully as possible his most striking traits, to analyze his special skills and techniques he employed in particular situations, and to draw this material together into as close-knit a texture as might be. Born a Kentucky gentleman, educated in Yale, migrating to Chicago and entering actively into its political life, Harrison was one of the most interesting urban figures of his time, important not only in the history of Chicago but in the history of urban development and in the history of democracy itself. Harrison was also important in that he presents

a novel type of a powerful leader, able to win an election as mayor of Chicago for five terms (and to transmit the heritage to his son), but a leader who was neither a boss on the one hand nor a demagogue on the other. He was not primarily a product of the spoils system nor a personal participant in it, nor yet did he make his appeal primarily to the ignorance and prejudice of the community. In this respect he stands unique among early types of significant political leaders developed in urban American communities.

It is to the study of this situation and this personality that Mr. Johnson has addressed himself with great enthusiasm and industry. That he has exhausted all the material or that his analysis is complete or unerring is too much to hope. That he has made an interesting contribution to our understanding of political leaders in general and of the Chicago situation in particular I think may be conceded by those who peruse the interesting chapters which Mr. Johnson has brought together in this volume.

Many more such studies of different situations and different men must be carried out before we can come to any very significant conclusions; and doubtless also much more precise methods must be devised before it is possible to reach relatively valuable results. It may reasonably be said, however, that we are on the way, and Mr. Johnson's volume is a part of the way.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
June, 1928

PREFACE

Carter Henry Harrison, the first of that name to be mayor of Chicago, a picturesque and commanding figure in the sordid city politics of the generation which went out with the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, was a political leader whose talents and methods are the subjects for study in this work. Reared in the South, educated in the East and abroad, adopted in the West, his phenomenal success with the electorate and his not inconspicuous success in municipal administration are facts which are of interest to all, and their explanation is a challenge to the student of politics. Intensely human, a man of action and of varied experiences, his career as a leader yields fruitful results when carefully studied.

An excellent biography of Harrison was written by Willis J. Abbot. My purpose is not to write another biography but to present an analysis of the equipment and tactics of Harrison as a political leader. For convenience the book is divided into three parts: background, traits, and technique. In Part I Harrison's ancestry, early surroundings, education, and the social, economic, and political background receive the emphasis. There is a chapter on his private life and another chapter which outlines his political career.

Part II leads us to the heart of the subject, traits. First, his physical characteristics are examined. We want to know whether he was healthy or otherwise; what he did for exercise; we inquire about his diet and how he slept; we note the quality of his voice; we interest ourselves in his general appearance, his manner, his mannerisms; in short, all the physical qualities which might have significance are brought forward and appraised. In like manner his mental traits are studied. His judgment, foresight, memory, capacity for observation, inventive and problem-solving ability, mastery of details, fer-

tility in resources, and readiness to accept new ideas are all considered. Then there are traits which defy classification, but which in general may be regarded as temperamental. Among these we number goodness of heart, geniality, integrity, sense of fair play and sense of humor, optimism, and the capacity for co-operation. We inquire whether our leader possessed patience and tact, and we are interested in how he took applause and stood criticism.

Part III, dealing with technique, contains chapters on his methods of securing nominations and elections; how he won and held his following; how he acquired and used his enemies; on his leadership from the vantage point of public office, where we learn of his use of spoils, favors, and prestige as an officeholder, and of his tactics in dealing with his council.

The author acknowledges a special debt to Professor Charles E. Merriam, at whose suggestion this work was undertaken and under whose direction it was brought to completion. Mrs. Heaton Owsley, daughter of Carter H. Harrison I, former Mayor Carter H. Harrison II, and Mr. William Preston Harrison, sons of the first Mayor Harrison, most generously supplied information and took a very encouraging interest in my project. I am especially grateful to Mrs. Owsley for the several conferences and valuable information she gave me, and I am deeply obligated to her brother, former Mayor Harrison, for having so painstakingly read the manuscript. Mr. Adolf Kraus, corporation counsel under the first Mayor Harrison, gave me material assistance, and interviews with a score of Harrison's other contemporaries furnished most worth-while facts and opinions. In acknowledging large debts to those who have co-operated with him, the author does not attempt to evade full responsibility for any mistakes which the book may contain.

C. O. J.

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

December, 1927

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I. BACKGROUND

I. THE HARRISONS AND KENTUCKY	3
II. CARTER HARRISON IN KENTUCKY	15
III. ADJUSTMENT TO URBAN LIFE	25
IV. PRIVATE LIFE	47
V. POLITICAL CAREER	62

PART II. TRAITS

VI. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS	81
VII. MENTAL TRAITS	93
VIII. TEMPERAMENTAL TRAITS	106

PART III. TECHNIQUE

IX. SECURING NOMINATIONS	135
X. ELECTION CAMPAIGNS: ISSUES AND TACTICS	148
XI. GROUP APPEALS	173
XII. INSTITUTIONAL ENEMIES: THE PULPIT AND THE PRESS	201
XIII. LEGISLATIVE LEADERSHIP	224
XIV. LEADERSHIP THROUGH ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES	245
XV. CONCLUSION	268
APPENDIX A	288
APPENDIX B	291
BIBLIOGRAPHY	296
INDEX	303

PART I. BACKGROUND

casion was propitious for its telling, but genealogy demonstrates its falsity. The liberty-loving "ancestor" referred to was born in 1606, while Benjamin Harrison, the clerk of the Council, was well established in Virginia in 1634. It would seem, therefore, that the best that can possibly be done for Thomas Harrison is to place him as an uncle of Benjamin, the clerk of the Royal Council of Virginia. Even this is exceedingly doubtful when we remember the loyalty of the Virginia colony to the cause of the King.

A much better theory of Benjamin Harrison's ancestry is that he was a near relation, probably the son, of Governor John Harrison, of the Bermudas. Connections between the two colonies were close, and it is easy to imagine one of the family of the Governor desiring to establish himself in Virginia. This is just a theory, quite unsatisfactory to the genealogist, no doubt, but for our purpose we are quite content to begin with Benjamin, not feeling the necessity of searching beyond American soil for more remote ancestors of Chicago's World's Fair mayor.

The first Benjamin Harrison received lands and money in compensation for his services as clerk. He increased in importance and became a member of the House of Burgesses. Shortly thereafter he was married to Mary, whose surname is not preserved to posterity. Their son, Benjamin, became a member, and finally speaker, of the colonial legislative body, and sat for a time in the Royal Council. He was closely associated with Sir William Berkeley both socially and politically. It is recorded on the stone which marks his resting-place that "he did justice, loved mercy, and walked humbly with his God; was always loyal to his Prince and a great benefactor to his country."¹

This second Benjamin Harrison, of Surry County, had two sons. The first son, carrying the name of his father, be-

¹ Quoted in Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4.

came the third Benjamin Harrison. He married Elizabeth Burwell, of most distinguished family. Their descendants married into the great families of Virginia, and it is through this pair and their descendants that the country received its presidents and Chicago its mayors. The third Benjamin Harrison, in addition to managing his estate at Berkeley, found time to sit in the House of Burgesses, preside as its speaker, serve as treasurer of the colony, and perform the functions of attorney-general. He died at the early age of thirty-seven, while engaged in writing a history of Virginia.

His son became Benjamin Harrison IV, as a matter of course, and remained on the family estate at Berkeley. The Benjamin here under discussion was for a time sheriff of his county and a member of the colonial assembly. In one of his journeys to a neighboring plantation he met Anne, the daughter of Robert Carter, a picturesque character in the day when life was picturesque, and a distinguished character among those with whom the Harrisons associated. His father had commanded the colonial forces against the Indians, attained success in business, and owned a large plantation. His fortune passed on to his son, who possessed all the talents of his father, and, in addition, some of the qualities which the people of those days associated with royalty. "As Robert, King Carter," he was known far and wide. His epitaph gives us the material information we seek:

Here lies buried Robert Carter, Esq., an honorable man who by noble endowments and pure morals gave lustre to his gentle birth. Rector of William and Mary he sustained the institution in its most trying times. He was speaker of the House of Burgesses, and treasurer under the most serene princes William, Anne, George I, and George II. Elected by the house its speaker six years and governor of the colony for more than a year, he upheld equally the regal dignity and the public freedom. Possessed of ample wealth, blamelessly acquired, he built and endowed at his own expense this sacred edifice—a signal monument to his piety towards God. . . . His first wife was Judith, daughter of John Amistead, Esq.;

his second, Betty, a descendent of the noble family of Landons. By these wives he had many children, on whose education he expended large sums of money. At length, full of honors and of years, when he had well performed all the duties of an exemplary life, he departed from this world on the 4th day of August, in the 69th year of his age.

The unhappy lament their lost comforter, the widows their lost protector, and the orphans their lost father.¹

It is unnecessary to remind the reader that it was through this fourth Benjamin Harrison's marriage to Anne, the daughter of the lordly Robert Carter, that Carter entered the Harrison family as a Christian name. The son-in-law of Robert Carter, like his fathers, gave time to the public service as befitted a gentleman of his station. His son was a leader in the events leading up to the American Revolution, introduced in Congress a resolution declaring for independence, and signed the Declaration of Independence. The third son of this fifth Benjamin became the hero of Tippecanoe and was elected president of the United States in 1840. The great-grandson of Benjamin Harrison V became president in 1889.

The youngest son of Benjamin and Anne, Carter Henry Harrison, took to wife Susannah, a Randolph, in whose veins flowed the blood of the Indian princess, Pocahontas. It is with considerable interest that we note that one of the Mayor's ancestors was king by courtesy, and that another was a monarch by legal right. Of this Indian royal blood the genial Mayor of Chicago, the eleventh direct descendant of King Powhatan,² often boasted, though in traits he resembled more his less remote ancestor, "Robert, King Carter."

The first Carter H. Harrison moved to Cumberland County and established a plantation. Just as his brother Benjamin, who signed the historic document, Carter played a part in the stirring events of '76. A tablet in the entrance hall at the College of William and Mary in Virginia commemorates

¹ Quoted in Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11.

² Mrs. Owsley, interview.

the fact that this alumnus, as chairman of the Committee of Public Safety of Cumberland County, as well as of its Committee on Resolutions, drafted and had adopted (April 23, 1776) the first known demand publicly expressed for the Independence of the Colonies.¹

His eldest son received the estate, and the second son, Robert Carter, joined the tide of emigration and went to Kentucky, as did many other second and third sons of great Virginia planters. His brother-in-law, Mr. Breckinridge, already settled in Kentucky, had purchased for him an estate of 2,000 acres near Lexington. Thither, in 1806, with two hundred slaves and other goods in proportion, the patriarch and his family betook themselves. On this estate he built a fine mansion of logs, and settled down to the life of a Kentucky planter.

The eldest of Robert Carter Harrison's children was Carter Henry Harrison II, who married Caroline Russell, the daughter of Colonel William Russell, of distinguished military family, and a family, like the Harrisons, with blood and marriage connections with the leaders of the time. To them was born on February 15, 1825, a lusty boy,² who was to turn his branch of the Harrison family into public life. "His arrival was not unlike that of Richard III," says the *Chicago Tribune*. "His father had neglected to make the necessary preparations incident to such an event, which occurred in the sugar-making season, and his cradle was a sugar-trough, brought in hurriedly."³ In later life Harrison was fond of saying that he was born in a cane brake and rocked to sleep in a sugar-trough. Although literally true, and perhaps of

¹ Carter H. Harrison II, interview. The Carter Harrison here cited is actually the fourth Carter Henry Harrison, but he is more conveniently referred to as Carter H. Harrison II, since he was the second of that name to become mayor of Chicago.

² The third Carter Henry Harrison, whom for convenience we designate as Carter Henry Harrison I, since he was the first of that name to be mayor of Chicago.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

some political value, it was not because his parents were in straitened circumstances. The sugar-trough was dispensed with as soon as opportunity was found to purchase the cradle, and the log house in which he spent his early years compared favorably with other plantation homes in the Kentucky of his boyhood.

The father died when the son was just a few months old. The only child was reared by his mother. That she performed her duties well there is abundant testimony from the words and pen of her son. We quote at some length from one of his tributes to her, not only because it reveals the character of the mother, but, as would be expected, the character of her boy:

Sixty-three years ago I came into this breathing life. . . . I open memory's book and sadly turn back its leaves and read its pages. I go a little farther back even than memory can carry me, and read a page all fresh as if it had just been written and I had known it all myself. It was fastened in my brain by a mother's words. . . .

. . . . The young father lies upon his dying couch. His weeping wife holds before him their baby boy. The blanching lips try to speak. She bends down to catch his dying words. They are a message to his child.

I turn over another leaf. I see the saddest spot of all seen in my earlier years—the graveyard behind my grandfather's orchard, all silent, deeply shaded, and solitary.

. . . . My mother is holding me, now three years and three months old, by the hand. We stand over a grave. . . . My mother knelt upon the edge of the grave and prayed. I remember but one sentence: "Thou has promised to be a father to the fatherless and the widow's God." When she arose her eyes were dry, though her cheek was still wet. She pointed to the silent grave and said, "Your father lies there, my child; his last words were for you: 'Tell our child that an honest man is the noblest work of God. Teach him not to tell a lie'; and then he died." Oh mother in heaven! that message has been given to me a thousand times—in angel whisperings, upon the briny deep, upon the mountain's side, in the turmoil of angry strife, in the silent watches of the night, in the loving glances of your own dark, honest eyes, in the far-off land where was our home and where your ashes lie. My father left me lands, but those dying words

watered by a mother's tears were richer legacy than all the lands. They have checked erring steps a thousand times, and have taught me to hold that "there is no religion higher than truth."¹

When he was still a child his mother wrote out his father's admonition as her own most ardent desire. "This piece of manuscript, . . . was the Mayor's most precious possession. When he started on his trip around the world he gave it to his daughter, Mrs. Owsley, for preservation in case anything should happen to him on his journey." Beneath the signature of his mother he wrote a few lines, commending its precepts to his own children. In his last campaign, at the age of sixty-eight, he spoke of the early impressions he had received from his mother to remain steadfast to the truth.²

Not only was his mother an ideal in the moral and religious training of her son, but she was a most practical woman as well. She managed the estate so well that she was able to give her son the best advantages his generation afforded. It was this estate, inherited from his father, improved by his mother, which laid the foundations for his later prosperity in Chicago.

II. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Having learned something of the Harrison family, it is now in order to take brief notice of the early surroundings of the subject of this study. This will appear of obvious importance to anyone who knows anything of the later career of Carter H. Harrison; for he drew heavily from his early experience and environment when he entered public life. We shall here consider the Kentucky background, leaving Chicago influences, which did not touch him until he moved there at the age of thirty, for chapter iii.

Who has not heard of the richness of the virgin soil of

¹ C. H. Harrison, *A Race with the Sun*, pp. 246, 247.

² *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 22.

Kentucky! The soil of the blue-grass region stands second to none, and it was the "wonderful luxuriance of its vegetable growth" which struck the attention of the early pioneer visitors. The constant enrichment of the fine loam by the decomposition of "blue limestone" kept the soil almost to its original fertility for several generations. Not only did this soil produce a variety of staple crops, but the natural growth from it accounts in a large measure for the high type of animals for which this region is famous. The "Kentucky thoroughbreds" were known far and wide.¹

Practically all the inhabitants of this section of Kentucky in the period before the Civil War made their living from the soil. That it was a good living needs no proof in this work. All the region about Lexington was "plentifully besprinkled with comfortable homes." In pioneer days the lives of these planters had been somewhat crude, but the horn of plenty was not long withheld from them. The Harrison estate, left to the care of the mother, flourished with the others, and came to be of considerable value.²

The planter himself eschewed any form of manual labor, his time being devoted to overseeing or general management. On the larger estates a professional overseer was employed, and it was he who managed all the details of slave labor and took care of all the matters of routine on the plantation. The lord of a plantation of this type was content to make an inspection from horseback from time to time. The greater part of his time he devoted to social life, politics, or a profession. He was the gentleman planter with the "lily fingers"; the man who had connections of friendship or blood with nearly all the other great families for miles around, and who usually had the unforced and unbounded respect of the slaves

¹ Robert Peter, "Geological Formations of Kentucky," in Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 379; Peter, *History of Fayette County, Kentucky*, pp. 29, 505.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff.

in the same area, and the awe of the "poor white trash" generally.

The upper class in Kentucky had the best traditions of Virginia and the South plus some of the noble qualities which would be expected of a people who were several generations nearer the frontier than their kinsmen who had remained in the older states. The Kentuckians were known for their big hearts and their warmth and cordiality. The leisure which the plantation life afforded was most conducive to the development of a refined and cultured society. The novelist of the period in which we are interested often found the picturesque and smooth-flowing life of Kentucky the most suitable for reproduction in romance. The fine gentlemen, jealous of their honor and a little given to dueling, extremely gallant to gracious, though somewhat stately, ladies, made a picture which it was difficult for even the Puritan to resist. In this land the chains of slavery were forged with less severity than in almost any other state, and it was doubtless for this reason that the author of a book which was wormwood and gall to the southerner selected this state as the one in which the kindly master predominated.

It was great to be alive in ante-bellum Kentucky, if one belonged to the favored social class—and the Harrisons did. In and about the city of Lexington lived many families of social pre-eminence and political distinction. We mention the Marshalls, one of whom was brother to the chief justice and who conducted a select school for boys, and whose son became a famous orator in Kentucky. Then there were the Humphreys, the Breckenridges, and others of scarcely less importance, and no one needs to be told that Kentucky's greatest statesman, Henry Clay, lived just outside the town of Lexington.¹

They were not the least intellectual people in the world,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

these Kentuckians. While social life flourished better at the homesteads on the estates, the intellectual life depended more upon the town of Lexington. Here Dr. Lewis Marshall prepared the sons of the planters for college, and those who preferred to take their college training near home could enrol in Transylvania University, an institution of which Kentuckians were proud, and which did, in fact, play a conspicuous part in the education of their sons. Lexington supplied the surrounding country with newspapers of varying political complexion, and in addition contributed a religious weekly and a medical monthly. When we add to the foregoing that the town maintained an "Athenaeum," had given one sculptor to the world, and had furnished other artists of less note, we are willing to concede that it had more claim to the title of the "Athens of the West" than did the several other western towns which had honored themselves with the same title. Socially and intellectually, the Lexington community took high rank.¹

In politics the Kentucky planters, like the majority of the Virginia gentlemen in the thirties and forties, were Whigs. They were Whigs not only because their status in society called for that political profession but also because the greatest of Kentucky statesman, Henry Clay, was the peerless leader of the Whig party, and to have opposed him would have been treason against the state, certainly treason against the Lexington community. Kentucky went for Jackson in 1828 and for Buchanan in 1856,² but in all the elections between these dates her votes were cast for the Whig candidates. Three times her vote went to Clay: first in 1824; then, in forlorn hope, in 1832; and finally, with high hopes only to be turned into mourning, in 1844.³

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28; Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 619 ff.

² This really gives the Whigs every election, for there was hardly a Whig party in 1828 or in 1856.

³ Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 369, 370.

More important than the mere question of party faith is the fact that the men of standing actively participated in politics. Nearly every one of the leading families in a community would have some representative in public office; indeed, the holding of some high office was, naturally enough, one of the chief grounds for a claim to standing. This custom of the landed gentlemen going into politics was an inheritance from their ancestors in Virginia and other southern states, and it was possible because of the leisure afforded by the plantation system. Bearing in mind the Kentuckians' zest for politics, we shall have less difficulty in understanding why Carter H. Harrison, coming from this background, was willing and glad to undertake the "dirty job"¹ of being mayor of Chicago.

SUMMARY

What more could be desired in ancestry than was to be found in the progenitors of Carter Harrison? From the very beginning they were people of education, means, and political importance in the Virginia colony. Comfortably established on their broad acres, they made contacts with the best families, and through intermarriage were connected with the Pages, Randolphins, Nelsons, Claibornes, Marshalls, and others. Coming from families of the highest social standing, unblemished in character, prosperous in estate, active and able in public affairs, no wonder the Harrison of this study felt the obligation of maintaining his integrity, increasing his earthly possessions, and carving out a name for himself in a public career. Who can say how much this justifiable pride in ancestry—this ancestry which seems to have known only success—had to do with Carter Harrison's achievements?

Kentucky, in which he spent thirty years of his life, had an economic system in which capital owned the labor, in which

¹ A son of one of Chicago's merchant princes once said scornfully to a classmate, a grandchild of Harrison: "Being mayor of Chicago is a dirty job."

it was a disgrace for a gentleman to perform manual labor, and in which it was not the custom for him to be too much engrossed in any sort of productive employment. A charming and cultured social life in which a lavish hospitality was dispensed by whole-souled planters was enjoyed by Harrison. His first observation of politics was that it was a vocation or an avocation for a gentleman of leisure and means. In the next chapter, as we sketch Harrison's career in Kentucky, we shall see how he fitted into this background, and, incidentally, get some additional light on his early surroundings.

CHAPTER II

CARTER HARRISON IN KENTUCKY

I. MOTHER AND SON

Little is known of Harrison's boyhood. We can only say that his life was about the same as that of any other boy who grew up on a Kentucky plantation. We have already noted that his father died the same year the son was born, and that the responsibility of rearing the boy fell entirely upon the young mother. He remained with his mother on the plantation until he was fifteen, not even going into the town of Lexington, six miles distant, to school. Between the mother and son there was companionship and perfect devotion. He always referred to his mother as the first and great love of his life. This devotion, which he carried to his dying day, is not in the least surprising when we consider the remarkable character of his mother. She taught him until he was within a year of being prepared for college; she instilled into him lessons of truth and honor for which he always carried a merited reputation; she managed the large estate which his father had left.¹ She gave him his intellectual, moral, and economic start. His mother lived on to a ripe old age, always remaining in Kentucky, but ever mindful of her son whose devotion to her was no less as he fought the fierce political battles in Chicago at sixty than it was when he enjoyed an easy and gay life in Kentucky as a young man. His friends and enemies all said that his attitude toward his mother was ideal. He idolized his own mother and idealized mothers the world over.²

¹ Mrs. Owsley, interview; Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.

² It is not inappropriate to note his sentiments as he beheld an Egyptian mother bidding her soldier son goodbye: "The mother would lay her hand upon his shoulder. Her dark eyes would melt beneath the openings of her bourko as she looked upon

II. COMPANIONS AND RECREATIONS

Although reared by a mother alone, the boy was in no sense "tied to his mother's apron string." There was never the slightest sign of the sissy about Carter Harrison. His mother was too wise to permit him to develop effeminate characteristics, even had he had a tendency in that direction. No doubt she encouraged him to play with other boys, even the little darkey boys, the latter practice being by no means uncommon on the old plantations. His mother probably did not quarrel when he came in with dirty hands, or punish him when he occasionally tore his clothes, or scream when he rushed in with a bloody nose. We have every reason to believe that Harrison was a typical boy of the Kentucky plantation type. As he grew older he became fond of hunting, fishing, swimming, and riding. From his youth he possessed the Kentuckians' love for fine horses, and his superb horsemanship was a matter of general comment even when he approached his three score and ten. As a youth he no doubt had many exciting races with his companions on their blooded mounts, and he and his friends were probably seen as a very enthusiastic group at the professional races which were held in the Kentucky towns and cities. Then, aside from the purely physical recreations, there were many gatherings at the neighboring plantation mansions, where our young Kentuckian talked courteously to his elders, engaged in horseplay with their sons, and paid compliments to their daughters.

III. EDUCATION

It has already been noted that he received his elementary education from his mother. His preparation for college was

her soldier-boy and poured words of love into his ears. Ah, deeper far than Joseph's well at Cairo is the unfathomed well of a mother's love. Its fountains flow steadily, whether the mother be Hindoo or Buddhist, Mohammedan, Jew, or Christian. It flows from a fathomless fountain beneath the throne of eternal love" (*A Race with the Sun*, p. 306).

completed in the select school conducted by Dr. Lewis Marshall, to whom reference was made in the preceding chapter. With Dr. Marshall he continued the study of English and mathematics and took up the *sine quo non* of education in those days: Latin and Greek. Two years at this school, and he entered Yale as a Sophomore, where he graduated in 1845, at the age of twenty.¹

As a student, he was not the type to take high honors. He was poorly prepared in Greek, according to his own account, and being unable to maintain a high average, became careless in college honors. Further than that, he was not interested in Greek and Latin anyhow. He often said that time might be spent more profitably in studying modern languages or in general reading.² He read widely, but not deeply. The truth is, he was a trifle lazy, both physically and mentally. He loved to read, but he hated to digest, weigh, and consider. In later life he loved to make a speech, but he hated to prepare one.³ Yet, in spite of this lazy streak, he made a good showing in college, especially in any matters pertaining to men and affairs. Here he displayed a keen judgment for which he later attained fame.⁴

He took some part in college activities. One of the first things he did upon his arrival at New Haven was to join Calliope, a debating society. He was not a success as a college debater, due to his terrible fear of speaking in public—a handicap which he did not overcome until he was well along in middle life. In his Senior year he became a member of the Scroll and Key Society.⁵

He was very much out of doors at Yale, having grown accustomed to that sort of life on the Kentucky plantation.

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.

² *Ibid.*; Mrs. Owsley, interview.

³ Mr. William P. Harrison, interview.

⁴ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29; this work, chap. x, sec. III.

It is said that he was ready always for a day on the Sound, and that he rode a horse a great deal, and sometimes went for a tramp in the neighboring hills.¹ In short, his life at Yale was of the type calculated to keep him in that robust health he had enjoyed from childhood and to develop a constitution sufficient to withstand many a strain.

Socially, he was the hail-fellow-well-met type at Yale, just as he was as mayor of Chicago. He was remembered by Mr. Oliver Crane, secretary of the class of 1845, as "the most genial mirth-awakener" of his class. "His innocent sallies of wit were always sure to promote good feeling. His vivacity never flagged, while exuberance of spirit was a marked characteristic, which, though sometimes exhibited in a little pardonable flourish, was invariably taken in good part." Last, but not least, the secretary of his class said that his fellow-students predicted for Harrison a successful career "because of the indomitable push which he possessed."² These characteristics he carried throughout his life, as we shall see when we come to study his traits.

Having graduated from Yale, he immediately took up the study of law at Transylvania University, in his home town, Lexington. His legal studies were interrupted at the end of the first year. The reasons Harrison gave for this were that his mother needed him on the plantation, and that, not being able to speak, he would probably never be able to practice law. Several years later, his mother having remarried, and her son having spent two years traveling in Europe, and having in that time seen something of the charms of city life, he decided to finish his law course and locate in a city. He received his law degree from Transylvania in the spring of 1855, just ten years after he had graduated from Yale.³

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

² Quoted in Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

³ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.; *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.



HARRISON, THE KENTUCKY PLANTER

IV. THE KENTUCKY PLANTER

With the exception of two years he spent in Europe, Harrison was a planter from 1845 to 1855. This method of life appealed to him strongly, especially before he had acquired a familiarity with, and a taste for, city life. Even when he had become firmly tied up with Chicago, economically and politically, he still dreamed of some day buying a plantation and finishing out his years as a gentleman planter.¹

Evidence is not wanting to show that Harrison was a rather typical young planter, entering gaily into the life of the community. Always popular with the opposite sex, he in turn always defended them gallantly. On one occasion he fought a "young blood" about a girl. According to the *Chicago Tribune*, "he used a chair and the young blood used a knife. The latter was disarmed." He expected to receive a challenge to a duel on this account, but the challenge never came. Harrison was opposed to the dueling system, and he forestalled a challenge in this case—the only time he came near receiving a challenge—by causing his colored boy-servant to spread the news of his master's marksmanship.²

V. INTEREST IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

However closely his life may have conformed to that of most young Kentucky gentlemen in the narrow social sense, in at least one fundamental point he parted with them. We have already noted that slavery was an established institution on the plantations in the state, and that the vast majority of the planters were earnest advocates of the system. Opposition to the peculiar institution came from some Baptist ministers as long ago as 1804. They alleged that it was a "sinful and abominable system, fraught with peculiar evils and miseries, which every good man ought to abandon and

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 33; William P. Harrison, interview.

² *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

bear testimony against." Shortly thereafter, according to a partial chronicler, they were "consumed in the fires of their own zeal."¹ Later on, abolitionists of a more militant type became active in Kentucky. Cassius M. Clay published in Lexington a paper which he styled the *True American*. Its columns so reeked with abolition sentiment that the Lexingtonians held a mass meeting in order to consider what action should be taken to secure the interests of the people "from the efforts of abolition fanatics and incendiaries." In short order a committee of sixty "prominent citizens" was "*authorized* [*italics mine*] to proceed to the office of the *True American*, take possession of press and printing apparatus, pack up the same, and place it at the railroad office for transportation to Cincinnati." All of which was done, and when the sixty leading citizens were tried for riot, the jury "without hesitation" gave a verdict of not guilty.²

Carter Harrison did not share the views of the sixty prominent citizens, nor is there any likelihood that he approved of their actions. Several years after the incident just recorded he attended an abolition convention as a delegate. A slave-owner himself, he nevertheless disapproved of the system, though he was not a radical abolitionist. He and his mother, with not an inconsiderable number of humane and far-sighted southerners, favored emancipation with compensation for the owners. It may well be that Harrison's liberal ideas on the slavery question had a great deal to do with his leaving his native state in 1855 and settling in free Illinois.³ Yet he did have some regrets at moving into a free state, for it meant that he had to make wholesale disposal of his Ne-

¹ Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 330. Cassius M. Clay was himself a Kentuckian and a distant relative of Henry Clay, while one of "the sixty" was the son of Henry Clay. (E. P. Johnson, *History of Kentucky*, I, 174, 175.)

³ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3; Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

groes at public auction, when "to sell a man" was one of the most disagreeable things he could possibly do.¹

Aside from his interest in the slavery question, which, after all, was not so deep that he was willing to let it touch his pocket, there is no evidence that he took any particular part in public affairs while he was occupied as a planter. Being a Whig, no doubt he cast his vote for Taylor in 1848. He was then but a young man, and any additional efforts for his candidate would have been, in all probability, productive of inconsiderable results. He was in Europe during the campaign of 1852.

VI. EARLY TRAVELS

While he was on his plantation, during the ten years following his graduation from Yale, he took advantage of the leisure offered and read widely; more important still, he traveled. He visited the home of his ancestors in Virginia. Knowing him as we do, we are justified in assuming that he read with the greatest pride the epitaph of the great and good "King Carter"; nor is there much likelihood that we err in thinking that the Young Carter was thereby stimulated to do something worthy of his public-spirited ancestor. On another occasion he went down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and no doubt entered fully into the spirit of that picturesque city. It is of interest to note that at this time the South held his attention; its life was to him the ideal life; and the rough, uncultured West he gave not even a hasty visit.²

The Old World had its charms for him, and when his mother remarried, in 1851, he went to Europe for a stay of two years. He spent considerable time in the important countries and took trips to Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor. While on these travels he started the habit of keeping a journal, a habit which he followed, when traveling, during the rest of

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

² *Ibid.*, p. 33; Alexander Brown, *The Cabells and Their Kin*, p. 521.

his life. This journal shows something of his varied interests, his capacity for observation, and his appreciation of men and things, but its literary qualities are not such as to commend it. His later journals were written for publication, and are not without literary merit, though he often used too many words.¹

During the two years he remained in Europe he learned French and German. His French was both grammatically correct and fluent; his German was fair. In addition to the proficiency he attained in the two languages mentioned, he studied Italian and picked up some useful phrases in the native tongue in nearly every country he visited. This knowledge of language he later used with great skill in interesting the naturalized voters of Chicago in his cause.²

The importance of the young Kentuckian's prolonged sojourn in Europe stands clearly revealed when we consider his later career in a cosmopolitan American city. He went to Europe at the age of twenty-six, an age at which mental faculties are usually pretty well developed, but an age certainly not too advanced to permit the young planter to receive many impressions and ideas. He learned that city life could be every whit as enjoyable as the life on a plantation, a fact which was in part the cause of his later leaving the Kentucky plantation for a career in a bustling city. A cavalier and a liberal both by nature and his early surroundings, personal liberty as he saw it in the European cities easily won his indorsement. Furthermore, his close association with the peoples of other countries enabled him to appreciate their institutions and their way of living to such an extent that in his later career he never seemed to show the slightest antip-

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 36. These journals were not available to the writer. His later travels, however, are very fully detailed in his two published volumes: *A Race with the Sun* and *A Summer's Outing*, which are to be considered in chap. iv.

² Biographical sketch in *In Memoriam, Carter H. Harrison*, p. 6; interview with his son, Carter H. Harrison II.

athy for foreigners. The advantages of his stay abroad enabled him to become more easily adjusted to urban life a few years later, and enabled him to make political appeals with sincerity and effect to foreigners and liberals some twenty-five years later.

VII. MARRIAGE

The last important event of Harrison's life in Kentucky was his marriage, in 1855, to Miss Preston, his cousin, a woman of distinguished family and rare talents.¹ She was a native of the neighboring town of Henderson, where she had received the type of education to which her generation and station entitled her. Her eldest daughter informs the writer that she was ". . . well up in literature and had a really remarkable knowledge of words and their definition." She was deeply interested in all matters which concerned her husband, and in the twenty-one years she lived after their marriage proved herself a real helpmeet. She was good at repartee, a brilliant conversationalist, and made many friends among the young and old. She was quick tempered, like her husband, but she realized its dangers and kept it well under control, seldom losing patience with her loquacious and frolicsome spouse. She was known for her generosity. Dr. Shipman's Foundlings' Home was the special object of her charity, and she organized many affairs for the purpose of raising money for that institution. A woman of keen intellect, broad interests, and sympathetic understanding, she would have been of invaluable aid to her husband in his political career had she lived through the period of his public life.²

SUMMARY

Harrison started life with but one serious handicap—the loss of his father. This loss was compensated for to a con-

¹ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 521.

² Mrs. Owsley, letter to the writer.

siderable degree by the proximity of his maternal grandfather and the remarkable character of his mother. Aside from the absence of the counsels of a father, his early surroundings and opportunities left little to be desired. His education was of the old classical type, but his light esteem for Latin and Greek caused him to give the maximum amount of time to general reading. This liberal education was well supplemented by opportunities for extensive travel and two years' residence in Europe. During his stay in European cities he came to have an appreciation of city life, broadened his already liberal views, and learned about the people of other nationalities. There is hardly any doubt that his two years in Europe were of as much value to him when he sought a politician's career in Chicago as his Bachelor of Arts degree from Yale.

While he was a rather typical young planter, and the planter's life still appealed to him strongly after his return from Europe, he was not altogether satisfied with it because of his mild opposition to slavery, because of the limited economic opportunities the plantation offered, and because he had acquired some taste for urban life. He therefore completed a course in law at Transylvania, having in mind a plan to move to a city and make a fortune. After his marriage to an accomplished lady, the two were ready to set out to find the city suitable for their purpose.

CHAPTER III

ADJUSTMENT TO URBAN LIFE

I. EARLY YEARS IN CHICAGO

1. PROSPECTING

The Harrisons went first to St. Louis, which city was very attractive to them, not only because of its gay social life but also because it seemed to them to be more like a European city than any other in America save New York and New Orleans. Then, too, Harrison was favorably inclined to this city because he could settle in it without having to dispose of his slaves, which, as we have seen, he was loath to do. But something told him to visit Chicago and St. Paul before arriving at a final decision.¹

Leaving St. Louis, they stopped for one day in Galena, but on account of the persistent activities of mosquitoes in those parts, they hastily moved on to Chicago. This city, in which they were destined to cast their lot and in which the aristocratic Kentuckian was to be carried to successive political triumphs by a democratic and polyglot population, had been incorporated as a town February 11, 1835. In later life he referred to the city as his "bride," but it was certainly not a case of love at first sight, for there was nothing of the comely about the city to attract him. The odor of pine lumber pervaded the atmosphere and the marks of the clapboard on the new frame buildings spoke loudly of newness and crudeness.² Love it was not; but he was drawn to the city by the business opportunities it offered.

He knew that this city had grown from a population of 4,479 in 1840 to about 80,000 in 1855, the date of his visit.

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 44.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 45.

He was told that the taxable value of its property had increased during the same period from \$94,437 to almost \$21,000,000.¹ He was impressed by the fact that sixteen railroads poured their passengers and produce into the city, making the city at that day a great railroad center. Then there was the Lake, with the possibility of a connection with the Mississippi. In one week he saw over six hundred thousand bushels of grain brought to the city. He saw houses springing up almost by magic, and if he inquired why they were nearly all of wood, he was reassured by the statement that there was such a demand that one could put up a house, pay for it in two or three years, and then erect a more durable and pretentious one. He stood on ground which was worth six hundred dollars per foot, and which could have been bought a few years before for a tenth of that sum. He met men who, five years before, had invested four or five thousand dollars in real estate and who were now worth several hundred thousand.² Some of these things he saw; others he believed by report. A confirmed optimist and in search of a fortune, Harrison decided to risk the noise and bustle of the city in a swamp and to put up with whatever barbarisms such a life might entail until such time as he could amass ample wealth for himself and his children.

2. HARRISON, THE BUSINESS MAN

It was real estate in Chicago which made the strongest appeal to Harrison. Not long after his arrival he bought a piece of property on the corner of Clark and Harrison streets, a property which was then on the edge of the prairie. The ex-planter, and, as he thought, future planter, seemed to know the realty business by instinct. His first purchase remained in his estate at the time of his death, nearly forty

¹ *Inter-Ocean*, "History of Chicago," p. 28.

² These are some of the things he wrote about Chicago not long after he had settled there (Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 48).

years later. This was characteristic, for he was a buyer rather than a seller of property, preferring to take his profits in rents.¹

Not long after he made his first purchase of property in Chicago he sold his estate in Kentucky and invested all his available money, which amounted to about \$30,000, in other real property in the booming city. On some of this land he built, going rather heavily in debt in order to do so; but he did it cheerfully, in all confidence that the future would bring forth good. His plan was to have his rents take care of the notes as they fell due, and as this worked out pretty well for the first years, Harrison felt that his fortune was assured.²

Business depression came during his second year in Chicago, and his optimism of one year was only equaled by his pessimism in another. This was no ordinary business setback; it was nation wide, though it naturally hit the rapidly developing cities with particular force. Harrison and his associates, some of whom, like himself, were native Kentuckians, were sorely pressed. Notes fell due, but the rents were slow in coming in, and those who had bought from them were in many cases unable to pay promptly, and in some cases the property had to be taken back. The inability of those who were indebted to them to meet their obligations promptly, if at all, reduced the erstwhile optimistic realty men to the necessity of seeking terms at the hands of their own creditors. So critical was the situation that Harrison was on the point of selling his holdings in Chicago for what they would bring and returning to Kentucky, and he did not do so only because a survey of the conditions revealed that, if he sold, he would have to stand a ruinous loss.³

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3; *ibid.* (October 31, 1893), p. 2.

² Biographical sketch in *In Memoriam, Carter H. Harrison*, p. 7; Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

³ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff.

But prosperity again had its inning, and when it did Harrison and his friends and business associates smiled at their recent fears, started to pay their debts, and forgot their resolves to sell at a favorable time. Then came the Civil War, which kept our Kentuckian in Chicago. The shift of economic and political balance after the war left the ambitious with no desire to journey southward. So it happened that the man who came to Chicago with the idea of getting rich and then returning to the land of his fathers remained by force of circumstances until the city became a personality which he loved as one of his friends.

The fires of 1871 and 1874 did not cause Mr. Harrison any serious losses, for in both instances the flames were checked as they neared his property. The hard times of 1873 were more serious, but he weathered the storm and seems to have prospered steadily thereafter. He became one of Chicago's wealthy men, his fortune being estimated by his friends at the time of his death in 1893 at well over a million.

Some will say that it was luck which brought him his fortune, and Harrison himself admitted that luck was a factor in life; but it was not by chance that he sought a career in a city, nor was it by chance that he decided upon Chicago after he had almost elected St. Louis as his favorite. It was plain business foresight, coupled with an element of daring which placed him in Chicago in 1855 and which gave him a position of economic independence in the course of years. His answer to the question, "What is luck?" is his own veiled reason for his success, and it is worth repeating:

What is luck? She is the hand-maiden of every man at one time or other, and in one form or another. . . . The blind do not see her, the timid or irresolute decline to take her outstretched hand. The unlucky man is the man who neglects to strike when the iron is hot. The lucky man is the one who takes advantage of proffered fortune. Circumstances, it is to be confessed, throw more of such proffers in the way of one than another. But if one will follow the footprints of the *lucky* men of the

world, one will find at the points where these seized fortune at the flood, tracks of many faltering and hesitating ones near by, any one of whom had within reach the same opportunities as the fortunate one had.¹

II. CHICAGO, 1870-93

We have followed the future mayor to this city and we have seen him established in it. In connection with his reasons for choosing this as his adopted city we have learned something of the city as it was when he first saw it; but it is of much greater importance to know something of the city as it grew along with Carter Harrison, or as he grew along with it. No Chicagoan was more *of* the city than the former Kentuckian. The town and the man grew to maturity together; each left its imprint upon the other; they loved each other. An understanding of the most characteristic features of Harrison's corporate "bride" is essential.

I. GROWTH OF THE CITY

In 1850 the total area of Chicago was but $9\frac{3}{4}$ square miles, but annexation from the middle of the century up to 1893 increased this area to more than 186 square miles. The greatest expansion in area came in 1889, when the annexation of the town of Jefferson, the city of Lake View, the town of Lake, and the village of Hyde Park added nearly 126 square miles.² Growth in population did not lag behind territorial expansion one whit. The 29,963 inhabitants of 1850 increased to 503,185 in 1880, the year after Harrison became mayor, and it reached the million and a half mark the year of the World's Fair, the year of Harrison's greatest triumph as mayor and the year of his death.³

¹ Harrison, *A Race with the Sun*, p. 290.

² *Daily News Almanac* (1926), p. 906.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 809. Population 1860, 109,260; 1870, 298,977; 1880, 503,185; 1890, 1,099,850; 1894, 1,567,727.

2. CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION

Chicago was a frontier city in most respects. To it the venturesome were drawn; by it adventurers were attracted. Many choice spirits were numbered among its population, but it had the frontier town's proportion of the riffraff. The timid feared it; the pious prayed for it; the robust, vigorous, loud, coarse, and irreverent, albeit goodhearted, enjoyed it.

This cheerful, jolly, and for the most part hard-working population was jealous of its liberty, especially of that "liberty" which has been revoked by the Eighteenth Amendment to our federal Constitution. Any attempt to close saloons except during the small hours of the morning was sure to be resented by a substantial majority. The citizens were not scandalized by wide-open gambling dens or by brazen houses of prostitution. It is incontestable that a majority of the voters preferred a wide-open town.

The foreign-born population of Chicago, averaging about two-fifths of the inhabitants from the Civil War to 1890, coming from Ireland, Northwest and Central Europe, had a marked influence upon social conditions. These nationalities, with their liberal ideas of personal liberty and their zeal in using the elective franchise, did much to make their adopted city a stronghold of "freedom."¹

In Carter Harrison's generation the Chicagoans were generally conceded to be the champion boosters of America. Opportunities for advertising and display were seldom missed. The citizens loved pageantry, the dramatic, the spectacular. There were many impressive parades, grand processions, and great ovations. A favorite son returning to his city was almost as sure to get a great popular welcome then as now. He would praise Chicago and its people; the people would praise him and Chicago. In spite of their democracy, the citizens

¹ See chap. xi for a more detailed discussion of the composition of the population as to foreign-born and liberty-lovers.

of Chicago loved trimmings; a world's fair with its color was altogether to their liking.

3. CHICAGO INSTITUTIONS

We are here concerned with some of those institutions which have to do chiefly with the intellectual and social man. The four which have been chosen and which seem to be of the greatest significance are the press, the libraries, the schools, and the church.

a) *The press*.—The more important newspapers in Chicago about 1890 were as follows: *Daily News*, *Record* (morning edition of the *News*), *Tribune*, *Inter-Ocean*, *Times*, *Journal*, *Herald*, *Mail*, *Evening Post*, and the *Dispatch*. Practically every language in Europe was represented in the Chicago daily press, but, with the exception of the German newspapers, the foreign-language papers had small circulation. The leading German publication was the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, edited by the famed Hesings, father and son, potent, if somewhat fickle, in Chicago politics. The *Freie Presse* and the *Abendpost* also were papers of some influence.

The most partisan of all the Chicago newspapers was the *Inter-Ocean*, stalwart Republican, edited and published by William Penn Nixon, and given character and color by a wholesale baker with ready money, H. H. Kohlsaatt. Next to the *Inter-Ocean* we place the *Tribune*, largely the product of the brain and energy of that great journalist Joseph Medill, usually a loyal Republican, but a supporter of Greeley in 1872, and later an opponent of the high protective tariff. The *Times*, long under the guidance of the gifted Wilbur F. Storey, something of a Mencken among Chicago newspaper men, might be characterized as being cynically Democratic. Storey died before 1890, and the *Times* was moribund when, in 1891, it was purchased by Carter H. Harrison for a career for his sons and for what turned out to be his last political

venture. The other Democratic organ was the *Herald*. The *Daily News* and the *Record*, associated with the great names of Melville E. Stone and Victor F. Lawson, were independent. The remaining newspapers were Republican or independent with Republican leanings. The foreign-language press was uncertain, but it was more likely than not to be Democratic on local issues. Thus we see that the Republicans had a great advantage over the Democrats in the matter of the political support of newspapers.

The people of Chicago were great newspaper readers forty years ago, just as they are now. The *Record* had a circulation of 165,000, and several other dailies were not far behind, though of course we must remember that tens of thousands of these papers went to subscribers outside of Chicago. It goes without saying that the newspapers played an important part in the community life. Just what part they played in connection with Harrison's political career occupies the greater part of our chapter on his "Institutional Enemies."¹

b) *Libraries*.—A library of three hundred volumes was the proud boast of the Chicago Lyceum, a debating society to which all early residents of consequence belonged, as early as 1835. Six years later the Young Men's Association, later known as the Chicago Library Association, was organized, and one of its objects was the establishment of a library. It is not without interest to note that the first president and guiding spirit in this Young Men's Association was Walter I. Newberry. The Chicago Historical Association was organized in the late fifties, and the 60,000 volumes it had accumulated were destroyed by fire in 1871.²

The Chicago Free Public Library came as one of the lasting blessings of the Great Fire. A group of distinguished Eng-

¹ This brief account of the Chicago newspaper press is based upon Willis Abbot's "Newspapers of Chicago and Their Makers," *Review of Reviews*, XI, 646-65.

² *Inter-Ocean*, "History of Chicago," pp. 61-64.

lish authors and public men, headed by Thomas Hughes, made an appeal for books for Chicago. While the gift which followed was not large, the spirit which prompted it crystallized the sentiment among many leading citizens for a free public library. Before Chicago had recovered from the fire, Mayor Medill presided over a meeting which petitioned the state legislature to authorize the city to tax for the maintenance of a library. January 1, 1873, the library was opened and placed in charge of William F. Poole, famed for *Poole's Index*. The Newberry Library, a reference library exclusively, was provided for by the will of Walter I. Newberry, more than two million dollars having been set aside for that purpose. This library was especially strong in the subjects of medicine, music, art, and antiquity. The libraries of the various colleges and universities should be added to the list, though they served special groups. The John Crerar Library was not established until after Carter Harrison had passed away.

Taken in the aggregate, these libraries had approximately three million volumes on their shelves, while their circulation, in all probability, represented several times that number. The Chicago Public Library alone had a circulation of 1,250,000 volumes in 1890, and in the same year its reading rooms were patronized by 700,000 visitors. This library was a place where all nationalities were seen, and it met their needs in an admirable fashion. A gold medal was awarded this library at the Paris Exposition of 1889 for the excellent character of the services it maintained.¹

c) *Schools*.—In keeping with the spirit of the famous Ordinance of 1787, Chicago had free schools from the beginning. The first high school was established in 1856, and the normal department which had been connected with it was made an independent school in 1871. Manual training and commer-

¹ John J. Flinn, *Standard Guide to Chicago* (1891), pp. 20, 104-5.

cial courses were added about 1890, and night schools, where not infrequently parents and children learned together, were flourishing at that date. Not only were opportunities given, but a state law requiring school attendance between the ages of seven and fourteen was enforced in Chicago. Nine thousand children were picked up on the streets by truant officers in 1890, and those who could not show legal cause for being out of school were immediately sent there. In the same year there were found among the 289,000 children of school age only 2,599 illiterates.¹

In addition to the public schools there were hundreds of private schools which took a large part of the task of education. We must add to these a number of universities and colleges and professional schools of which the city has long boasted. The city not only provided well for the elementary and secondary education of its own citizens, but its higher institutions of learning made it an educational center for the Northwest.²

d) *Churches*.—A somewhat different institution from the others considered in this section, but significant in this study, the church should receive at least a brief treatment. The Catholic church far outstripped all the others combined, both before and during the Harrison period. It had communicants to the number of 262,000 in 1890, while the total church membership of the city was only 388,000. These facts have important social and political bearing, since it is generally conceded that the Catholics have broader or more liberal views on such questions as prohibition, Sabbath observance, etc. Furthermore, as far as such questions are concerned, we would not go far wrong if we should add 9,000 Jews and 43,000 Lutherans (most of the latter being German or of German descent) to the Catholic group, however grotesque such

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 97 ff.; *Inter-Ocean*, "History of Chicago," pp. 55 ff.

² *Inter-Ocean*, "History of Chicago," pp. 58 ff.

a combination might be in respect to religious beliefs. This would leave the prohibition and Sabbatarian group with a force less than 75,000 strong, and under no unified command.¹ No wonder Harrison could afford to snap his fingers at the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, and that he survived the anathemas of their clergy! His controversies with the Protestant clergy are taken up in the chapter on "Institutional Enemies."

4. CHICAGO BUSINESS ENTERPRISES

Everyone knows that the economic prosperity of Chicago is due in a large measure to its favorable location. Even before 1850 its tributary country included the great grain-growing states and territories of the West and Northwest, and the stock-producing sections of Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri. As the territory of the far West was developed, Chicago's tributary country was further enlarged. A market for wide areas north, south, and west, the city was further enriched by its opportunity to sell supplies to these areas. Not only was Chicago favored in that she had very productive territory in three directions, but her location on the lake gave her obvious advantages in transportation, advantages without which her early prosperity would have been impossible, and advantages which even now play an important part in keeping Chicago to the fore commercially.²

Most important in making the West and Chicago were the railroads. Who has not heard of Chicago as the nation's greatest railway center? We have already seen that sixteen railroads nourished the city at the time when Carter H. Harrison first saw it. As railway expansion continued, Chicago became more and more a great hub for the spokes of the country's wheel of commerce. As long ago as 1880 the city

¹ Census, 1890, statistics of churches, pp. 94, 95.

² Census, 1880, social statistics of cities, Part II, pp. 492, 493.

was connected by railways with every other city of importance in the land.¹ Later on it was estimated that Chicago railroads controlled about one-third of the total mileage in the United States, and that another third was so closely connected with it that it might well be said that two-thirds of all railroad mileage in the country was tributary to the great city on Lake Michigan. These railroads, gathering up the produce of the country for hundreds, even thousands, of miles, brought it to Chicago to be made into finished products or to be reshipped to other markets. In turn these railroads carried to the tributary areas the articles made in Chicago factories, and to all parts of the country the finished products of the Chicago mills and packing plants.² Having given some attention to the fundamental causes of Chicago's economic prosperity, we now turn to some of its larger and typical business enterprises.

a) *Manufactures*.—Within easy reach of cheap fuel, iron, lumber, clay, sand, and other raw materials for a score or more of the most important industries, Chicago became a leading manufacturing city of the country. Her industrial development began in earnest about 1880, when the capital invested in factories amounted to \$68,800,000. Ten years later this had been increased to \$339,700,000, and in 1900 it reached \$534,000,000—a phenomenal increase even for the period of industrial expansion in the United States. The output increased from \$249,000,000 to \$664,500,000, from 1880 to 1890, and in another decade the value of the products reached \$881,000,000. About 77,000 men were employed in 1880, whereas they numbered about a quarter of a million when Harrison was serving his last term as mayor in 1893. During the same period wages paid increased from \$35,000,000 to well over \$100,000,000.³ “Nowhere in the world,” according

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Inter-Ocean*, “History of Chicago,” p. 89.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 162; Census, 1880, compendium, Part II, pp. 1046, 1047; Census, 1890, report on manufacturing industries, Part II, pp. 130–33.

to the *Inter-Ocean's* "History of Chicago," "has such a record been made. . . . New York and Pittsburgh, although their gains have been tremendous, . . . can show no such advance."¹ The many products of the Chicago factories defy convenient classification, but it will be sufficient for our purposes to list iron and steel, iron and wood products combined (such as farming implements), and textiles as the leading articles of manufacture.²

Some of the city's industrialists were world famed and were great public benefactors. We mention Cyrus H. McCormick, who preceded Carter Harrison to Chicago by eight years, and who, like Harrison, saw that it was good, and remained. Later George M. Pullman, who was born the same year McCormick first used his harvesting invention on his oat field in Virginia, took his place among Chicago manufacturers. Chicago was justly proud of her manufacturing industries and their leading spirits. "We have no London Tower, but we have the Union Stock Yards; we have no Versailles, but we have Pullman," writes an enthusiastic citizen about the time of the World's Fair.³ While we may smile at the foregoing quotation, we admit at the same time that there is a romance and a glamor about colossal industry and far-flung commerce just as there is about historic palaces and famous prisons; nor do we deny that the former have done more to advance civilization.

b) *The meat-packing industry.*—Chicago came to be a great live-stock market and meat-packing center during Carter Harrison's generation. In the late sixties Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, and Illinois began to send unprecedented numbers of cattle to Chicago. The Union Stock Yards, which was organized and opened in 1865, had a plant worth about \$4,000,000 in 1890. During that year 3,484,000 cattle, 175,000 calves, 7,663,000

¹ *Inter-Ocean*, "History of Chicago," p. 161.

² Flinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

hogs, and 2,183,000 sheep were received at the Yards. By far the greater portion of these were slaughtered at the Yards, while the remainder was shipped to other points. There were seventy-five companies engaged in the packing of meat in 1890. The largest of these were Armour & Company, the Anglo-American Packing Company, Nelson Morris & Company, and Swift & Company. The Chicago packers represented a capital of \$17,000,000, employed 24,500 workers, paid \$13,585,000 in wages, and turned out products valued at \$137,275,000.¹ No other industry so well represents the business enterprise and resourcefulness and ingenuity of Chicago's builders. In the language of Jonas Howard, "The packers of Chicago stockyards have littered the deserts and morasses and the tenantless mountains of the world with their meat cans. They have fed armies and explorers; by sheer dint of their usefulness they have made of a coarse, utilitarian trade an influence in the march of civilization, an especial condition in the progress of mankind."²

c) *The real-estate business.*—Real estate men in Chicago profited by its rapid growth, and, as is true in practically every American city, they contributed a great deal to that growth. The case of Potter Palmer is one of the best illustrations of how a real-estate dealer can help his community. Having made millions in the retail dry goods business, he turned those millions into real estate. At that time the main street of the city was Lake Street, running east and west. He felt sure that the main throughfare should run parallel to the lake front, and to further this project he bought the land for more than a mile on either side of the then narrow and ill-kept State Street. He then had the city council widen the street twenty feet. He erected fine commercial buildings, one after another, and in a few years the tide of the city's commerce was running north and south. His next venture was the pur-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 292 ff.

² *Inter-Ocean*, "History of Chicago," p. 152.

chase of waste and swamp lands north of Chicago Avenue and east of Rush Street. In a few years this came to be a most valuable property.¹ What Potter Palmer did, many others did, though on a smaller scale. One of these others was Carter H. Harrison. More than sixteen hundred concerns were engaged in the real-estate business in 1890. They furnished employment to ten thousand men and their transactions for the year amounted to \$227,486,959.²

d) *General business.*—We shall not go into detail concerning the Chicago Board of Trade with its \$86,677,000 transactions in 1890; nor have we space to devote to the banks, which had clearings of more than four billion the same year. In the drygoods business we need only mention Potter Palmer, Marshall Field, and Levi Z. Leiter, these being known in practically every household in America at the present time. We go no farther than to say that the commerce of Chicago in 1890 was \$1,380,000,000; that Chicago was a city of much business, and a great deal of large business; that it was a city which appreciated a business mayor.³

No discussion of Chicago business, however brief, should omit mention of the fire of 1871, for in the city's recovery from the fire we have the best example of the pluck and energy of her leading citizens. The fire burned over 2,124 acres, destroyed 17,000 buildings, left 100,000 people homeless, ruined fifty-six insurance companies unable to meet their \$100,000,000 obligation on the \$290,000,000 loss. Yet the city arose quickly and triumphantly from her ruins. Chicago came to be known the world over as the city whose appalling disaster was matched by the will and determination of its people. The advertising the city received from the fire, and its recovery therefrom, compensated in some measure for the property destroyed.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

² Flinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 361, 362.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴ *Inter-Ocean*, "History of Chicago," pp. 38, 39.

5. CHICAGO GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

a) *Government*.—Only a word need be said concerning the form of government. Chicago had the mayor-council system, as did practically all cities at that time. The term of office for both mayor and council was two years, and a treasurer, an attorney, and a clerk were elected for the same term. All other important officers were appointed by the mayor with the advice and consent of the council. The mayor was a member of the council and presided over that body and had a vote in case of a tie. He had the power of veto which might be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the council. These two last-mentioned facts made the mayor of Chicago an important figure, and if the incumbent happened to be an aggressive individual, the mayor's office became the real center of power. The authority thus given was exercised to the fullest by Mayor Carter H. Harrison, as we shall see in chapters xiii and xiv.

b) *Party politics in Chicago*.—The Republicans had the majority in Chicago both in local and in state and national elections up to 1879. After that date the Democrats usually managed to get the majority in local elections; in fact the Republicans elected only three candidates to the mayoralty during the next twenty-eight years. The city remained Republican on state and national issues, although it gave Cleveland a small majority in 1888 and a large majority in 1892, and Carter Harrison a slight majority when he was a candidate for governor in 1884.¹ The rather marked difference between the strength of parties in local and general elections was fostered by the fact that the general elections were held in the fall, while the municipal elections were held in the spring, thus permitting the local issues to be considered on their merits.

While the Democrats and Republicans were the only

¹ See Appendix A for election figures.

strong contenders for power in Chicago, we must not leave out of consideration a more liberal or radical element, the greater part of which voted the Democratic ticket when Harrison was a candidate. We have already made mention of the city's large industrial population and of its high percentage of foreigners. Some of the leaders of these groups entertained varying degrees of radical thought in economics and politics and on several occasions caused the city serious trouble and damaged its reputation in the nation. To the mecca of American liberty came Johann Most, distributing his book and preaching the gospel of revolutionary anarchism, undisturbed by Mayor Harrison, Chicago's doughty champion of individual liberty. The anarchist movement led finally to the famous Haymarket Riot in May, 1886, but caused no trouble after that time.¹ Some years later Eugene V. Debs became a national figure through his leadership in one of the great Chicago strikes. The Socialist party was early organized in the city, and it elected some members to the council while Harrison was mayor. He co-operated with these men and he was so satisfactory to the Socialist party that nearly all of its members supported him for the mayoralty.² This is another and a very important explanation of why the Democrats in Chicago during the Harrison period were so much stronger in municipal politics than they were in state and national politics.

c) *Tone of Chicago politics.*—Politically Chicago was no better, and perhaps very little worse, than other cities at this period. If we make allowance for the newness of this city as compared with New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, it probably ranked as high as they. The tone of the national government was not high during Harrison's time, especially during the twenty years following the Civil War. The spoils system

¹ Bennett, *Politics and Politicians of Chicago*, pp. 379 ff.

² Harrison's relation with the liberal element is fully discussed in chap. xi.

stalked the country unblushing and unashamed. There was scandal and corruption sometimes in high places, and the voters were apathetic. General prosperity in the municipal areas caused the voters to consider lightly the extravagance of their officials, while venality in office did not always shock the public conscience. The cities, being the newest and the wealthiest units of democracy, offered baffling problems for which solutions were tardily sought, and held out unprecedented opportunities for spoils and graft, both "honest" and "dishonest," which opportunities were seized with alacrity. There was little evidence of improved conditions until the period in which we are interested had closed.¹

Chicago had no scandal which would compare with the "Tweed Ring," but about the time that gang was making its raids on the New York City treasury the Chicago treasurer was found to be short to the amount of \$507,703. The defalcator went unwhipped of criminal justice, but the city later recovered a part of the loss from him and his bondsmen.² The Republicans admitted, and the Democrats boasted, that there was nothing of this sort of corruption to taint the Harrison administrations.

There were election frauds in Harrison's time, however. The most notorious case was that of Joe Mackin, who stood high in the councils of the local Democratic organization. He and several others managed to get possession of a ballot box after it had been placed in the custody of the county clerk. They took a number of the original ballots from the box and put in their place forged ballots. For this crime, which was in connection with the general election in the fall of 1884, but not in Harrison's interest, Joe Mackin was finally sent to prison.³

¹ Munro, *Municipal Government and Administration*, I, 99 ff.

² Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 148, 158.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 325 ff., 583.

d) *Some political and administrative problems.*—Owing to the destruction of the city hall, waterworks, police stations, and much other public property by the fire of 1871, the city of necessity became involved in a large debt. The bonded debt was reduced slightly by Mayor Heath, Harrison's immediate predecessor, but it was still more than thirteen millions when the latter took office in 1879. Hard pressed financially, successive administrations after the great fire issued "scrip" to the amount of several millions a year. It was worth between ninety and ninety-five cents on the dollar, and the city and its employees and contractors were the losers. The greater part of the cash collected was required to pay the interest on the bonded debt and to redeem the scrip.¹ Chicago was ready to welcome as its chief executive a man who could bring a high degree of intelligence to the solution of its financial problems.

A problem which much more thoroughly aroused the Chicagoans in the early seventies was the question of closing the saloons on Sunday. Mayor Medill, having been frequently importuned by a persistent minority, finally and reluctantly gave the order that the ordinance with regard to Sunday closing should be enforced. The protest against such action was immediate and effective. At election time the "People's party," organized to combat the "Law and Order" group, and marching under such banners as, "If Puritans rule, the country is gone," gave the Sabbatarians a crushing defeat.² On such questions the course for any politically minded mayor was clear for years to come.

Having grown with phenomenal rapidity, the city resembled more an overgrown village than a great metropolis. It was not far short of impossible to keep its services abreast of the needs; for like the adolescent youth constantly growing out of his clothes, the city was ever expanding beyond

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 139, 206, 258, 259.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 139 ff., 152.

the capacity of her public services. It was hard put to in its effort to keep an adequate water supply; the question of the disposal of the city's waste challenged the best minds. Then there was the problem of street paving, the vexing question of overhead wires, and the whole matter of railways and street railways and other public utilities. Mayor Harrison's part in connection with these problems occupies considerable space in chapters xiii and xiv.

III. HARRISON AND CHICAGO

Carter H. Harrison was one of the most enthusiastic Chicagoans. His inordinate pride in the city and his grandiloquent boasts of its prowess were not the least causes for his national reputation. Chicago is the "second city in America in population, and the first city on earth in pluck, energy, and determination," said the plucky, energetic, and determined old man when he became its mayor for the fifth time.¹ The last day of his life he declared that in another half-century London would be trembling lest Chicago should surpass it, and New York would say, "Let us go to the metropolis of America."²

Often he referred to the city as his "bride," and there is evidence that she was; for he saw beauty in her, just as a loving and uncritical bridegroom may see beauty where others are not convinced. "Chicago is architecturally one of the most beautiful cities," he said. "Its streets are lined with business houses and residences vying in splendor with the palaces of princes and nobles in other lands."³ Urging the council to help him keep the city healthful and clean, he submitted that, if it be done, visitors would say, "The young city is not only vigorous, but she laves her beautiful limbs daily in Lake Michigan and comes out clean and pure every morning."⁴ For such statements as the foregoing he was ban-

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1893-94), p. 40.

² *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

³ *Council Proceedings* (1881-82), p. 233.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1893-94), pp. 40, 41.

tered and ridiculed by the press of other cities, but he took it in good part, being willing to contribute that much to the cause.

While his praises of the city bordered on the extravagant and ridiculous, he nevertheless gauged accurately the trend of his city's development, thereby amassing a fortune. His confidence in the lake city and her enterprises led him to make frequent investments in local companies, one of the last acts of his life being the purchase of two hundred shares of stock in a promising local corporation.¹ This same accurate vision of the future caused him, as mayor, to champion bold municipal undertakings, notably the great drainage project. Both as a business man and as a public official he saw always an expanding city.

A boaster, a booster, optimistic, bold, and venturesome, "Carter H. Harrison was looked upon as the most typical of Chicagoans, personifying in himself all the restlessness, the energy, the ability, and the ambition which have built the World's Fair city into the greatest metropolis in the Nation."² Because of the common characteristics of the city and its first citizen it is not strange that the popularity of the latter grew with the size of the former. Other men, who had been leaders in the earlier and inconspicuous years of the city's history, were for the most part "blotted out or dwarfed," while Harrison "remained still a striking figure."³

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have followed Harrison from the easy, almost indolent life of a planter and its peculiar social surroundings to the noise, bustle, dirt, and conflict of a new and rapidly growing urban community. He quickly made this community his home, and in the course of years his business

¹ *Chicago Times* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

² Quoted in *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 2.

³ Quoted in the *Chicago Times* (October 31, 1893), p. 4.

acumen brought him his fortune. Later on he mastered the intricacies of municipal politics and became one of the city's most dominant political figures. If we go further and attempt to locate the secret of his capacity for adjustment we submit that it finds a partial explanation in his broad education and extensive travels, but more especially is it accounted for by his powers of observation, foresight, knowledge of human nature, and similar traits, traits which form a large part of the material in Part II of this work.

Harrison's Chicago was a city of expanding area, with a rapidly increasing population and an ever growing mixture of tongues. Its adequate public school system, its large and practically administered libraries, and its able journalists gave the population opportunities for mental development nowhere excelled in the United States. Chicago was world famed as a railroad center as well as for its factories, stock-yards, and grain market. Its form of government was like that of other cities, with the exception that its mayor was more powerful. It countenanced some graft and more spoils, and tolerated about the same number of social plague spots per square mile as other cities. It faced acute problems of finance as a result of the fire disaster of 1871, and, because of its rapid growth, it had difficulty in maintaining adequate public services. From the standpoint of party affiliation the city was Republican by a small majority, but, due to the quasi-alliance of the Democrats with the liberal elements, the Republicans usually received a minority of the votes in the municipal elections after 1879.

This was the Chicago of Harrison's day, the city of which it was often said he was the most typical citizen. He loved it for the opportunities it presented, for its cosmopolitan population, for its pluck and determination and its good fellowship. That the city loved him in return is proved by the honors he received from it.

CHAPTER IV

PRIVATE LIFE

Harrison makes a tremendous appeal to the normal individual when viewed as husband, father, and friend. Of hardly less interest is he when he sits in his hammock smoking and philosophizing, weeps over a novel, talks to his pets, works in his garden, rides his thoroughbred mare, or circumnavigates the globe. In this chapter we are studying the private life of a leader, not only because we are interested in how the leader lived when he was somewhat removed from the public view, but also because we want to see, if possible, what influence his private life had upon his political success.

I. THE FAMILY

During the earlier years in Chicago the Harrisons lived on Hermitage Avenue.¹ In 1866 they moved into the spacious Ashland Avenue mansion, a fine residence built some years before by H. H. Honore. Here the lively family lived during all of Mr. Harrison's public career. His home, which came to be a sort of show place in Chicago, known for its inviting appearance without and its hospitality within, was one of his many political assets.²

The first Mrs. Harrison, who graced this home up to the time her husband had started on his political career, was the mother of ten children, six of whom died in infancy. Always in rather delicate health, she seems never to have become acclimated to Chicago. She spent a great deal of time in Kentucky and some time in Europe, where she died in the fall of 1876. Her death, occurring as it did when her husband

¹ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

² *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

was some four thousand miles distant and several days before he knew of it, came as a staggering blow to Mr. Harrison, a blow from which he found some relief by redoubling his political activities.¹ It is not possible to argue that she had any very definite influence as far as his political career was concerned when we consider the fact that she died before his public life was fairly begun.

Several years later, and during his second term as mayor, he married Miss Marguerite Stearns, who was the daughter of a Chicago business man. She died shortly after his temporary retirement from politics, in the spring of 1887. It does not appear that his second wife influenced him politically any more than did his first, although she was sufficiently interested to keep a scrap-book of newspaper articles having to do with her much-discussed husband, and she was incensed at the press attacks upon him.²

During the last years of his life he became engaged to Miss Annie Howard, of New Orleans. She was a close friend of his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Carter H. Harrison, Jr., and, needless to say, much younger than her chivalrous suitor—forty-three years younger, to be exact. But the Mayor, who “pressed his suit with all the ardor that characterized most of his actions,”³ was irresistible. In due time the engagement was announced and the invitations to the wedding were issued. All this came about during the World’s Fair, and no doubt it explains in a large measure why he was so radiantly and contagiously happy during that gala summer and autumn. He talked with all the enthusiasm of youth, and said he expected to live through two more generations. It was the immediate prospect of a happy marriage which explains in part why the sympathy was so deep and universal when the assassin’s bullet prevented its consummation.

¹ Mrs. Owsley, interview; Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

² Mrs. Owsley, interview.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 1.

It is already apparent that this handsome gentleman of the old school, gallant, vivacious, and gracious, was very fond of the society of women. Prosperous in estate, distinguished by public office, and a widower during a good part of his political career, he was equally attractive to women. They gave him flattery in return for his compliments, and assumed a sort of gay defensive mockery against his courtships. When he saw a beautiful or an attractive woman a jesting courtship seems to have been to him the obvious course. It is said that he courted every girl who ever visited his daughters, although it was understood that he was not serious. When a young man, one of his jests was taken seriously, much to the disconsolation of the second party, and when a malignant illness was carrying the girl away, young Carter feigned sincerity and she died happily. Even when he was in middle life a school-girl friend of his daughter's burst into tears at the conclusion of the dashing widower's visit.¹ He was a great admirer of beauty, and he appreciated it in women of any race or nationality. He often remarked about the women he saw while on his trip around the world, and when he was in India he saw such a beauty that he felt under the necessity of extending his remarks in the record—his book, *A Race with the Sun*. His observations cover about a page, and they were to the effect that beautiful women made him feel unhappy and that this "piece of dusky perfection" caused a sort of paralysis to grow about his heartstrings.² Susceptible to the charms of women and having many attractive qualities to offer in turn, Carter Harrison was very popular with the sex which had no votes in his day, although it is not improbable that many of them by direct or indirect means influenced some of the franchised sex to support him at the polls.

We return now to his family life, and note what care he

¹ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

² *A Race with the Sun*, pp. 251, 252.

gave his four children, who were left without a mother about the time the eldest reached maturity. Their father took the double duty which fell to him very seriously, especially as far as his daughters were concerned. He was as considerate and solicitous of their welfare as a man of his ideals of womanhood could be expected to be. He shielded and counseled them at every turn. He often told jokes on his sons, much to their embarrassment, but his daughters could always rest assured that they would be spared such ordeals. Characteristic of the ideal parent, he never felt that the children's added years relieved him of any responsibility. Many little incidents, for the most part humorous, attest to this fact.¹

He made pals of his sons, particularly the younger son. As he advanced toward old age he kept this boy with him almost constantly. Said the father: "The old and those growing old should attach to themselves the young. . . . Age should tie to itself ripening youth. Then heart and spring-tide is absorbed by the older, and ripe experience given to the younger in exchange."² Thus it was that he and the younger son came to be great pals, in spite of the fact that the disposition of his elder companion to tease sometimes made the boy wince when they met third parties.³

The family may be characterized as noisy and frolicsome. On occasion they quarreled, but not in a bitter spirit. The parent might become angry at some slight misconduct of one of his boys and drive the offender from the dinner table. The next day the two would laugh over the incident. In a moment of levity and as an aid to digestion the jovial and somewhat epicure gentleman at the head of the table would order his family to rise and march with him around the festive

¹ Mrs. Owsley and William P. Harrison, interviews.

² Harrison, *A Summer's Outing*, pp. 11, 12.

³ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

board. Known abroad for his constant and generally interesting conversation, he was no less given to it in his own home. Many and various were the lectures he gave his children; frequent and loud were their arguments over trivial or remote matters.¹

His greatest concern was that his children should be honest and honorable. His own integrity was unquestioned—a priceless legacy from his own parents which he wished to pass on to his children. Truth he regarded as the highest virtue, and the child who deviated from it received a liberal application of painful stimuli. The children gave testimony of their father's teaching with regard to the sanctity of truth, and they tell of the powerful influence of his example as it was brought home to one of them when a workman told the younger son that he would believe whatever he said because he was the son of Carter Harrison.²

It is trite to say that he was a loving and beloved parent. But we do say it because he was known and esteemed in Chicago for just that. Even his severest critics spoke highly of his home life, while the great mass of Chicagoans who knew him thought of him as did the alderman who spoke so feelingly at the time of Harrison's death: "With an intimate friend of mine I called on Mayor Harrison one evening and we found him sitting in his library with one of his sons sitting by his side, and his elbow resting on his father's knee, while his other son stood behind his chair with his arm around his father's neck, and it formed a picture which will never be effaced from my memory. . . ."³

II. FRIENDS

It goes without saying that Harrison was received by the "best people"; even when he was most bitterly assailed for

¹ Mr. and Mrs. Owsley, interview.

² *Ibid.*

³ Alderman Sexton, in *In Memoriam, Carter H. Harrison*, p. 65.

his political activities, his friends of high degree, including a goodly number of the assailants, remained steadfast in their personal regard. They might say that he deserved to be flayed alive for his alleged political sins, but as a man they regarded him not otherwise than "whole-souled and honorable." Harrison himself noted this fact, remarking that it was strange that he was so "roundly abused" by men who received him in their parlors.¹ The paradox just noted goes to explain the depth of Carter Harrison's personal nature. He would not let his friends go from him. He literally wrestled with them. He simply could not exist without friends, and many of them. His capacity for friendship and his appreciation of it left many at his side who would have turned away from a man whose heart was less warm. His best friends were for the most part in the same business as he, and a number of them were Kentuckians by birth. H. H. Honore, Potter Palmer, John E. Owsley, and F. H. Winston, a former minister to Persia, were all in real estate or realtors, and they shared the optimism of Chicago's Mayor. Another group of friends were on the bench. Here we find John C. Rogers, Samuel Moore, Samuel Kerfort, Lambert Tree, and others.² These were his closest friends; but a man of his type in public life has a host of good friends who probably never cross his threshold, men who have the utmost confidence in him and who would divide their last crust with him, but who have little in common with him socially. To these men Carter Harrison's heart went out in full response, and he included them in his message of friendship and love from the other side of the world:

Reclining upon an easy chair . . . I watched the waves coming in from the east, and thought of my own native land and of the dear ones on the other side of the world. The waxing moon was climbing half-way

¹ Quoted in *Chicago Tribune* (April 2, 1883), editorial.

² Mrs. Owsley and Mr. William P. Harrison, interviews.

up to its zenith, a dim, silvery spectre upon the hot, blue sky. It had been shining upon my own land but a few short hours before, perhaps had lighted up the faces of some of those who were so dear to me. As I looked, I almost fancied I could see them photographed upon its pale silvered plate.

There in my west-side snow-mantled home were my children—my laughing little girl—a father's heart went out to enfold them. There were my good neighbors and true friends from all over the city. One by one they walked across the polished plate, and bent upon me a kindly look. Friends of every nationality, Teuton and Hibernian, Frenchman and Norseman, Bohemian and Dane, Italian and Swede, Christian and Jew, rich and poor. Ah! How I wish I could bid yon pale moon bear to them my own picture, looking, as I feel, brimful of good will, and running over with kindly fellowship. To one and all I drink in a cup as full as yon sea—a cup brimming over with affection.¹

III. RECREATION

Horseback riding was one of his favorite recreations, though it was much more than a recreation, for it was from the back of his horse that he made careful inspections of the streets and alleys of the city, and on the back of his fine Kentucky mare, when going at a full gallop, that he, by his own account, did his best thinking. He had to have motion, and the motion of his flying steed suited him best. "I couldn't study out a problem or a scheme sitting at a desk to save my soul," he said, but when he was bounding along in the open spaces he was neither physically nor mentally cramped.² He was a superb horseman, and he was a magnificent figure on horseback even at the age of sixty-eight. He loved the exercise, and no doubt the habit of horseback riding kept him in good physical trim. His horse was more than just something to ride—it was a companion. The *Chicago Times* gives an interesting account of this attachment: "For years his favorite saddle horse was a mare named Kate. She was a thoroughbred, and between horse and rider there grew up

¹ Harrison, *A Race with the Sun*, p. 259.

² *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

the strongest attachment. He knew her every trait and she seemed to respond with zeal and intelligence to his desires. When he returned from his trip around the world, though he had been absent over a year, she recognized him, and in many ways displayed her delight at his return. . . ."¹

He loved other animals almost as much as his horses. He kept cows, raised chickens, and surrounded himself with various pets. His peacocks made so much noise that the neighbors complained and he disposed of them. Likewise his attempts to keep the eagles his friends sent him had to be abandoned, one of them, described as tame, having torn off the Mayor's coat sleeve. One day he brought home a fine pickerel. Finding no other place to put it, he installed it in the bath tub, where it remained until one of his sons, annoyed at the inconvenience its presence caused the family, returned it to its native environment. The only creature which actually repelled Carter Harrison was the cat, though he was not overly fond of dogs.² In India he braved the mother's wrath in order to play with a baby elephant, and he records with the greatest satisfaction that the toddler responded to his caresses and that the mother soon saw that he meant no harm and regarded him as a friend.³ On another trip he writes feelingly, if somewhat humorously, of the poor salmon who "is spawned to bear the whips and spurs of most cruel fate."⁴

Next to his love for animals was his love for the outdoors. He cultivated flowers with success. The oleanders which he had raised from slips were his special pride. Much of his time was spent in examining his trees and flowers, seeing to it that they were properly watered, protected against

¹ *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 22.

² *Ibid.*; Mrs. Owsley, interview.

³ Harrison, *A Race with the Sun*, p. 165.

⁴ Harrison, *A Summer's Outing*, p. 171.

insects, etc. When he first bought his Ashland Avenue place the grounds surrounding it included a whole block, giving ample space for a garden. In this garden Carter Harrison often spent the earlier hours of the morning, and he took great delight in furnishing vegetables for his own table.¹

The oceans, rivers, mountains, and all the grander aspects of nature appealed mightily to Harrison. A lover of mankind, he was no less a lover of everything else nature had to offer. Happy when with his friends or acquaintances, he was hardly less happy when he sat alone, feasting his eyes and dreaming on some mountain summit or near some beautiful water. He had little patience with those who did not appreciate the beauties of nature. Writing of a fellow-traveler, he said: "He rarely enthuses over scenery and has little love of Nature or its beauties. . . . He loves travel, but to travel among the haunts of men and women, not of nature." The same traveler, he said, enjoyed the rush through the Canadian Rockies only because he was being brought back to "where he could revel in rising stocks."²

Fishing, hunting, and swimming furnished additional exercise and recreation of a physical character. He was not a great fisherman, due to the fact that he probably lacked the patience necessary for that art. In his younger days he enjoyed swimming, especially smoking a cigar as he floated. He did not hunt a great deal after he came to Chicago, but one day his eldest son and son-in-law inveigled him into going with them to shoot clay pigeons. Knowing the eagerness of their elder to excel in all things, the young men secretly agreed to permit him to beat them. The shooting had not been long in progress when they found that their best efforts would leave them far behind the "Old Man." The senior was so elated at his success (which the boys attributed to his

¹ *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 22.

² Harrison, *A Summer's Outing*, p. 188.

quick eye) that he immediately paid two hundred dollars for a gun, using the same not more than once or twice after his exhibition of skill.¹

Turning now to diversions which are more of the mental type, we find this most active man doing some very interesting things. He engaged everyone in conversation, always arguing that there was no one alive from whom he could not learn something. He talked to get information, no doubt, but it is my impression that the element of enjoyment in it was stronger than the desire for information. Be that as it may, much of his time was spent in talking, often to total strangers. He often urged his sons to adopt his policy of talking to everybody and anybody.²

He was a great reader. His favorite authors were Burns, Byron, and Shakespeare, and he could recite from them by the hour.³ As a boy he memorized Scott's "Lady of the Lake" and read Young's "Night Thoughts." His favorite poems were the "Prisoner of Chillon" and "Tam o'Shanter." Later in life he turned more to Burns, "Because," said Harrison, "there is so much human nature in him." Grey's "Elegy" was a favorite with him, because Carter Harrison enjoyed being sad at times, even to the point of shedding tears.⁴

He liked any sort of novel, and when he had started one he would usually finish it before he went to bed. He told a friend that he read just as he fed—all he could possibly hold. The Mayor took the novels just as they were and displayed the emotions the novelist intended should be called forth, though he sometimes disagreed with the author's method of handling characters and plots. He attempted to put his own ideas into print by writing a novel of his own. His family had to hear

¹ Mr. Heaton Owsley, interview.

² *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 22.

³ Carter H. Harrison II, interview.

⁴ Mrs. Owsley, interview; *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

him read his chapters from time to time, and their laughter and criticism took away some of his ambition, but his effort was finally published as the second title in his book, *A Summer's Outing* and *The Old Man's Story*.¹

He had a rather peculiar interest in science. He read Darwin, Huxley, and other scientists, but he did not let men interfere with his vivid imagination. He pretended to be firmly convinced of the truth of the old legend of the lost continent of Atlantis, and he was especially fond of the books of Flammarion, who treated astronomical subjects in an imaginative way.²

Other types of books which interested him were those of travel and adventure. He is the author of two books of travel, which we shall discuss at a later point in this chapter. The Bible was one of his favorite books, of which fact his writing and speeches give abundant proof. He read widely, but not deeply. The books in his library were chiefly of the type which entertain.³ He disclaimed being a scientist, and certainly there would be few to deny the truth of his statement. Yet from his wide reading, aided by a prodigious memory, he did gain a vast store of information which stood him in good stead, especially when he mounted the speaker's platform.

He did not care a great deal for the theater. Occasionally he went and sat in a back seat. The circus and the Negro show were his favorites, and he recommended them to Bismarck when the Chancellor entertained him at Friedrichsruhe.⁴ Harrison explained that he liked this form of entertainment because it made him laugh. Said he: "I like to laugh. It's my idea of happiness, and that's why I am healthy and

¹ *Ibid.*

² Carter H. Harrison II, interview.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

⁴ Harrison, *A Race with the Sun*, p. 538.

strong. I go where there are people who laugh as often as I can."¹

He loved band music, it seems, above every other kind. A very fine band from New York which played at the World's Fair so pleased him that he was not happy unless he could sit on the band stand.² Bad band music he detested. Denying that there was such a thing as poor music, he maintained that what people commonly called poor music was simply noise.³

Harrison was often quite content to do absolutely nothing. In the warm days he would sit in his chair or lie in his hammock and dream. "Man . . . was made to dream as well as to be awake. . . . I am happy when I dream, and dream I will." He often talked after this fashion; but of the nature of these dreams, with the exception that he sometimes mentioned a particular country, he leaves us in the dark. In his travels he let his mind carry him back to past ages, and beautiful cities arose out of the ruins he beheld.⁴ He dreamed of attainments as a young man, but along what lines he gives us no inkling.⁵

IV. LATER TRAVELS

Harrison was one of the great travelers of Chicago, his interest in this form of recreation and education carrying him several times to Europe, to the Northwest of the United States and Alaska, and on a tour of the world. Although he derived great pleasure from his travels, he took his trips seriously and was at great pains to make them a profit as well as a pleasure. The advice which he gave to would-be travelers and which served as his own guide is well worth reproducing:

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

² *Chicago Herald* (October 30, 1893), p. 3.

³ Harrison, *A Summer's Outing*, p. 80.

⁴ *A Race with the Sun*, pp. 317 ff.

⁵ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

When you leave home drop its cares entirely and truthfully. Let your friends write nothing about your business unless it be such as they know should hurry you back, and for that intended. Look on the bright side of everything before you, and do not complain because you have not the comforts of your home. Profitable travel is often laborious, and like all well applied labor, pays. . . .¹

Equanimity of temper is the most valuable of all human characteristics for happiness. It is absolutely necessary to the traveler who desires to learn much and to enjoy what he sees. . . .²

Seeing practically everything and inquiring further about almost everything he saw, Carter Harrison learned much on his travels, and the Chicagoans felt a renewed interest in him when they read his entertaining letters as they appeared from time to time in the newspapers.³ On his trip around the world he stopped first in Japan where he was struck with the way the Japanese took care of the blind by teaching them to take care of themselves, and he recommended that method for America. He marveled at prostitution in Japan, which was entirely in the open and unashamed; then he wondered if, after all, his own country profited any by driving it to concealment. He took the time to see the Japanese children in the schools; he inquired about the condition of agriculture, and went to the country to observe it; he was impressed with the skill of the jinrikisha men, and with the uniform courtesy all classes showed them.⁴

He tells us that the American business man in China is not a whit different from the Chinese in the United States—neither expects to remain in the country any longer than is necessary to make his fortune.⁵ Everywhere in the East he

¹ *A Summer's Outing*, pp. 160, 161.

² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³ Later the letters appeared in book form. His book on his trip around the world is entitled *A Race with the Sun*; his book on the Northwest United States and Alaska is entitled *A Summer's Outing* and *The Old Man's Story*.

⁴ *A Race with the Sun*, pp. 46 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

meets the clever Chinese, who, according to him, are the Jews of that part of the world. As an American he respects the Chinese shrewdness; but were he an Asiatic, he would fear them.¹

When in India he had much to say about British rule, the life of the natives, and the beauties of the country. He deplored the fact that many travelers fail to appreciate Southern India, and expressed his own appreciation in this language: "The thistle on the arid plain bears a flower of exquisite beauty; the edelweiss bloom in the edge of eternal snows; the desert has sands of crystal clearness."² He is pleased with the graceful gaits of some of the Indian women, and wants to know when the American women are going to let their bodies be free and cease folding their arms "like the wings of a trussed turkey." Then he proceeds to read the American women a lecture for having forsaken the fashion of Eve for the styles of the French.³

He writes about the water of India, which is full of every conceivable nastiness and death-dealing germs: "Throughout the country generally many Europeans boil or filter the water, and some do both. The natives do neither, and are yet a healthy people, for they have no fear of their water." Then he concludes with a pithy statement which, despite his diffuseness, was not uncommon with him: "Faith is a mighty doctor; alarm breeds disease."⁴

Thus he traveled from country to country, talking, seeing, sensing, philosophizing, and "lecturing." He was interesting to his traveling companions and to the natives of the countries he visited because of the breadth of his interests, his keenness in perception, and his unbounded enthusiasm. In Siam he was entertained at dinner by the King, and he was Bismarck's breakfast guest in Germany. Received by the

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 152.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

² *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

governing officials in India, he was not content to see that side of India alone, but mingled with the natives, riding second class on their trains for that purpose.¹ Certainly he has a strong claim to the title of model traveler, and there is no doubt that his informative and entertaining letters, as published in a Chicago paper, caused many of his fellow-townsmen to think more highly of him and to give him their votes for World's Fair Mayor when he stood for that office five years later.

SUMMARY

The ideal and intensely human family life of Carter Harrison brought him the respect, even the admiration, of many who would have found little good in him otherwise. His reputation as a parent may have been of some political value, for we know that some people are influenced in favor of a candidate by just such considerations. Ardent and steadfast in friendship, his devotion and persistence held those who might have left him because of his political activities. Friendly to thousands whom he did not meet on terms of social equality, his bearing was such that their loyalty was no less than that of his more intimate friends. The fact that his heart went out in kindness and sympathy to those in the lower social strata was no doubt of political consequence.

His varied recreations were of such character as to keep him fit mentally and physically. His interest in so many things enabled him to live pleasantly with himself and contributed toward giving him points of contact with others. His interesting reports on his extensive travels, as published in Chicago papers, kept him before the people during his absence and showed a side of the man many of his fellow-townsmen had not seen before, thereby in all probability contributing to his political strength.

¹ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL CAREER

In view of the fact that, in the chapters which follow, our method will of necessity preclude any chronological approach, it is certainly desirable from the reader's standpoint that we give at this point a chronological sketch of Harrison's public life. That is the sole purpose of this chapter; critical and analytical matter is left for Parts II and III.

I. BEGINNINGS

As we have seen, his first political affiliation was with the Whigs, but, arriving in Chicago at the time when the Whig party was drawing its last breath, he was really a man without a party in 1856. In the presidential election of that year he gave his vote and some support to the Know-Nothing ticket, a noteworthy fact when we consider that alliance with such an element was absolutely at variance with all his later professions and activities. Luckily for him, he was unknown at the time; had he been a conspicuous figure, his temporary friendship for this anti-foreign party might have seriously injured his chance for success in Chicago politics. Another matter of interest is that he made one speech during the campaign in question—a speech which has not come down to posterity, but which was pronounced as “pretty and effective.” Having made it, he attempted no other for fifteen years.¹ He was a Douglas man in 1860, and a Unionist during the war,² but he took no active part in the conflict, nor did he take any particular interest in the politics of the period.

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50.

² In *Memoriam*, Carter H. Harrison, pp. 7, 8.

Even after the Civil War Harrison remained out of politics, and it seemed to those who knew him best that he was absorbed in making money. He liked to talk politics; could be relied upon to do his share as a Democrat; but beyond that he appeared to have no interest.¹ Consequently the members of a judicial convention in 1870 were astounded when Harrison, who was a delegate from his ward, suddenly jumped upon a chair and made a short, audacious speech against a leading candidate for the nomination.² The speech was very effective, and Harrison became more active in politics, even accepted a nomination to the lower house of the state legislature. He did not, however, take his candidacy seriously,³ and during his later political career it was never mentioned by him, his friends, or his opponents, and we shall make no further mention of it in this work. The great fire of 1871 was the occasion, if not the cause, of Harrison's enthusiastic entrance into politics.

With the city facing the need of vast expenditures, having a special need of police protection to guard against the lawless who flocked to its borders at the report of disaster, under the necessity of having the highest caliber men let the contracts for the construction of public buildings to replace those destroyed—in fine, forced to select men who could bring order out of chaos, all thinking men agreed that partisanship should be laid aside and that public affairs should be placed in the hands of men of unquestioned integrity and recognized ability. This was a time when a citizens' ticket need offer no apologies. A union ticket, commonly referred to as the "fireproof ticket," was placed in the field.

As a member of the People's Convention, Harrison was one of those, if not *the* one, who persuaded Joseph Medill to head the ticket, clinching his argument with a characteristic

¹ *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 3.

² *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

³ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

exaggeration: "To be Mayor of Chicago now is greater than to be President of the United States." It is said that while he was persuading Medill to accept the nomination, a committee of the convention decided upon Harrison as the suitable candidate, and apprised him of that fact shortly after he had conferred with Medill. "I never wanted anything as sincerely as I did that nomination," he said, "but I couldn't go back on my promise to Joe Medill."¹ Harrison was chosen by the convention to make the race for county commissioner, an honor which was apparently unsolicited on his part. He served on the campaign committee and earned some reputation as a stump speaker, his speeches being short, humorous, and to the point. The "fireproof ticket" won an easy victory, starting a man who became one of Chicago's most successful politicians upon his career as an officeholder at the age of forty-six.²

As a county commissioner he acquired the reputation for being a conscientious, painstaking official, and demonstrated his capacity for handling public finance. He voted against the increase in pay for commissioners, and succeeded in having a resolution shelved which was to ask Congress to refund the money paid out by Cook County as bounties to enlisted men during the Civil War. His conduct in office called forth the praise of newspapers which were ordinarily hostile to Democrats, and Harrison was spoken of as a man worthy of the confidence of the electorate.³

II. CONGRESSMAN

Less than a year after his election to the county commission Harrison was nominated for Congress by the Liberal Democrats, who followed Greeley's standard. The honor was a dubious one, there being little hope of success in a district

¹ Quoted in *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 62.



CARTER H. HARRISON, M.C., AGE FIFTY

which was normally Republican, especially at a time when there was dissension among the Democrats. The close of an active campaign netted the Republican candidate more than three thousand majority. Two years later, in 1874, Harrison was again a candidate, this time a nominee of the People's party, which was the regular Democratic party thinly disguised. The same gentleman opposed him who had beaten him by such a handsome majority in the previous election. There was some evidence of increased Democratic strength, but it was not thought sufficient to offset the normally high Republican majority. Consequently we are prepared to believe Harrison's statement that he did not make any effort to secure the nomination, and we attribute his willingness to run to his feeling of obligation to his party or to his self-confidence; it was probably the latter, though he mentioned the former in his acceptance speech. Harrison's victory was a very narrow one, which for a time was in doubt, and but for two incidents he would surely have been defeated. Adolf Kraus, a Bohemian Jew, but three years in Chicago, had been asked by a friend to work for the Republican candidate, since, if the Republicans were not elected, his friend would lose his position at the post-office. The Republican candidate, Mr. Ward, had promised Kraus and his friend a horse and buggy for election day, but refused to make good his promise when they reported for duty. Kraus was angry and proceeded to persuade many of his Bohemian friends to vote for Carter Harrison.¹ As the ballots were being counted, Harrison, suspecting fraud at a polling-place, forced his way in and compelled a recount, which was worth just twenty-eight votes to him. His opponent's breach of faith with the postal clerk and his friend and Harrison's boldness, not to say bravery, at the polling-place gave the Democrat a plurality of eight votes.²

¹ Kraus, *Reminiscences*, pp. 46, 47.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 ff.

Unexpectedly a victor in 1874, and having won something of a name for himself in Congress by means to be noted in a moment, his renomination, which he desired, was secured with little difficulty. Owing to the illness and death of his wife in a foreign land, Harrison was abroad at the time of the election, but the voters returned him by over six hundred majority.¹ Duties in the House not being entirely to his liking, and probably having bigger things in view, Harrison refused to be a candidate for Congress in 1878.²

Carter Harrison's later record as mayor so far eclipsed his legislative career that his services in Congress are quite commonly passed over as nil. He went to Congress with serious intentions, announcing that he was not going to make a speech while there, and would consider himself a business member.³ But the speeches came, and with them a reputation for humor which obscured, no doubt, a record for service of which Harrison was not ashamed. During the early days in Congress he attended a banquet at Philadelphia, and being pressed to make a speech without previous notice, was forced to fall back upon his humor. The speech was a great success, the Chicagoans being informed of the fact through the sensational headlines of the Democratic *Chicago Times*: "Carter H. Harrison Makes a Hit in Philadelphia. Who in Hell Is Carter H.? Why, It Is Our Carter."⁴ Later, in the House, he made a speech of the "spreadeagle" type in favor of the appropriation for the Philadelphia Centennial. The speech was described as a "torchlight procession of words," and it won another name for the gentleman from Illinois—"The Eagle." "Our Carter" and "his eagle" became household words in Chicago. Still another speech, a burlesque, which was effective, but damaging to a legislative career, was his plea for an appropriation for the continuance of the Marine

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁴ Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

Band.¹ While the political value of these efforts is unquestioned, there is equal certainty that they dimmed a legislative record which was by no means void of accomplishment. To a brief consideration of the serious side of his career in Congress we now turn.

Harrison represented the immediate interests of his constituents, speaking for them on the floor and securing for them their share of the favors which were at the disposal of Congress and congressmen. Then he worked for the city of Chicago. One of his first acts was to begin the fight over the valuable tract of land known in Chicago as the Lake Front, a fight which resulted in the ultimate confirmation of the city's title. He was a most earnest advocate of the Hennepin Canal project, which embraced a plan of digging a canal from the lake at Chicago to the Illinois River, thus connecting the Great Lakes with the Gulf of Mexico. This proposal came near to success at one time, but was permanently shelved when one of its supporters on the house committee died. For Harrison's part, he never lost interest in it or in any project for the improvement of waterways around Chicago.²

He was active in other matters than those of a purely local character, as instanced by his advocacy of a single, six-year term for the president, his firm stand in favor of bimetalism, which then and a little later tremendously interested the whole country, and his introduction and appeal for a free ship bill for the purpose of increasing American carriers on the high seas. The first of these proposals created widespread comment, as did his unusual but successful fight against a "whitewash" of a Democratic doorkeeper who carried on his payrolls more employees than were actually employed.³ Tak-

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 ff.; *In Memoriam, Carter H. Harrison*, p. 8.

³ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.

en as a whole, his record was not remarkable, but eminently respectable for four years of service. He probably served his constituency as much as he did his country, but is that not the American principle, and, therefore, the principle by which he should be judged? Having proved himself a vote getter, having made something of a name for himself, he was ready for relief from services which were not altogether to his liking for an executive position which nature seems to have intended for him and in which he found the greatest pleasure and exhilaration.

III. THE MAYORALTY—HARRISON'S RISE

We have seen that he was longing for the mayoralty as early as 1871, and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is not too much to assume that he did not lose his ambition to head the city of which he was so proud and in which he had such large holdings. During his last term in Congress he was talked of for mayor, and there is no doubt that he gave considerable encouragement to those who used his name in that connection. The talk continued, and when he arrived in the city at the conclusion of his last term in Congress his nomination was pretty generally predicted. A big reception at his Ashland Avenue mansion was one of the political moves which brought the mayoralty nomination within his grasp. He was first nominated by the Greenback-Labor party, a nomination which he practically ignored, hoping to secure the regular Democratic nomination, which he received in due time.¹ The Republican candidate was singularly unpopular; the Socialist candidate was one of the mildest and most gentle of men; while Harrison was both popular and aggressive—so much so, in fact, that the Republicans came to look upon him as a menace to their supremacy in Chicago, and the people were warned against the Democrats and Harrison as fol-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 93 ff.

lows: “. . . The conclusion is irresistible that the Democratic party, representing more ignorance, vice, and crime than is represented by the Republican party, is, other things being equal, less worthy to rule.” And then, as for Harrison: “Are the people of this city by their indifference willing to invite the calamity of this man’s election, and thus again reduce Chicago to bankruptcy and give it over to the rule of the rabble?”¹

But the people did not take the *Tribune* seriously; they elected Harrison by a substantial plurality. Those who had predicted the direst calamities did not sell their property for what they could get and flee, but rather remained to enjoy prosperity, a prosperity which was due to the natural expansion and development of the city and to the financial economies which the Democratic Mayor almost immediately put under way. Nor was the city turned over to the rabble. For the important offices men of such high caliber were chosen that the bitterest pre-election critics gave discriminating praise. When the Mayor removed the fire marshal the whole city burst forth in a blaze of criticism, but so clearly did later events vindicate the Mayor, that those who had led in the attack were glad to forget it. In all matters relating to the material prosperity of the city Carter Harrison was an outstanding success as mayor.²

His renomination in 1881, and again in 1883, was hardly more than a matter of form. No one doubted that he would be nominated, and very few had any doubt about his election, though the opposition talked in conventional fashion about the certainty of his defeat. After his signal victory in his second campaign for the mayoralty, his highly respected and capable opponent said: “I regard this as a greater personal victory for Carter Harrison than for the Democratic party. Harrison triumphed without the aid of the other

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (March 24, 1879), editorial.

² See chap. xiv.

Democratic leaders, and this makes him the foremost man of the Democratic party in the Northwest.”¹ Others were coming to look upon “The Eagle” as the “foremost man,” for the Democrats of Woodstock, Illinois, made a pilgrimage to Chicago and presented the victor with a “magnificent golden eagle.”² Winning an overwhelming vote of confidence again in 1883, and that after the bitterest campaign, he was the most-talked-of man in the state for higher honors. He had proved himself a most capable and conscientious official, and, more important from the political standpoint, a superb campaigner. Against him the Republican bulwark of defense, styled the Citizens’ Union, crumbled as a medieval fortress under the attack of modern artillery. The *Daily News*, an anti-Harrison organ, admitted that it had had little confidence in the attempts to defeat him, and had not tried to encourage false hopes.³ The *Tribune* agreed that “there was a widespread apprehension of his election from the first among those who desired his defeat most. This sentiment alone was worth thousands of votes to him. It created an apathy among the masses, notwithstanding the outward show of activity made by many citizens. The proportion of the people who want to be on the winning side is very large.”⁴ There is no reason to dispute this assertion that Harrison had reached the point in political success where the “band-wagon” vote was his.

IV. THE GUBERNATORIAL RACE

It is necessary to turn aside from the mayoralty for a moment, as Harrison did, and follow him in his efforts to perform a feat which was a challenge to any ambitious Democrat in Illinois. The word “feat” is used advisedly, for no Democrat had been elected governor since the Republican

¹ Quoted in *Chicago Morning News* (April 7, 1881), p. 3.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Chicago Daily News* (April 4, 1883), editorial.

⁴ *Chicago Tribune* (April 4, 1883), editorial.

party had been organized, and the last Democratic candidate had suffered a heavy defeat. But in 1884 the Democrats thought they had a man who could lead them to victory. He had met with no reverses since he had fairly started upon his political career; he had five successive triumphs to his credit; he had made Chicago a Democratic city. Considering the fact that there were many Democrats in southern Illinois, there were good prospects of his election. At any rate, If he could not win, who could? Against him the Republicans placed Richard J. Oglesby, who was a personal friend of Carter Harrison, but nevertheless a powerful and popular figure in Republican politics. The battle was joined with vigor and pressed with energy on both sides. Oglesby won by a narrow plurality, but Harrison's record as a campaigner was not materially dimmed. He changed the Republican score from a victory of 37,033 in 1880 to the slender plurality of 14,599 in 1884, and ran 7,284 votes ahead of Cleveland.¹ Indeed, it is frequently asserted that had there not been some dissension in the ranks of the Illinois Democrats, Harrison would have been elected. Harrison's opposition to the dominant wing of the party on the tariff question, coupled with his independence of the other party leaders in Chicago in his local campaigns, and his lack of enthusiasm for Cleveland, cost him the support of such state leaders as W. C. Cowdy, Erskine Phelps, and W. R. Morrison.² Seemingly the men of this group accomplished his defeat in the Democratic legislative caucus when he was up for nomination to the senate a few months later.

V. THE MAYORALTY—HARRISON'S FALL

His fourth nomination for the office of mayor came as easily as the second and third. This campaign was waged

¹ *Daily News Almanac* (1926), p. 812.

² William Preston Harrison, interview.

in the spring of 1885, and in it Harrison came near meeting his Waterloo. His defeat for governor may have set him back temporarily; the strength of the opposition candidate may have accounted for his narrow margin; or the persistent use by the Republicans of the handy fact that one of his supporters had just been convicted for election frauds may have reduced his majority to transparent thinness. At any rate the spell was broken. The absurd arguments of the "Citizens" that another term of Harrison would fasten him on the city forever, or until they could get rid of him by revolution, seems to have had effect. Harrison's majority was less than four hundred votes, whereas his lead two years before was over 10,000.¹ Republicans freely predicted that this was the end of Harrison; that, having thus reduced his strength, they could easily banish him from the city hall in 1887. It was during this, his fourth, term that the famed Haymarket Riot occurred, and Harrison was vigorously assailed for his liberality toward anarchists and socialists and for his insistence upon the right of assembly and free speech. He could not share in the popular panic that unless the most ruthless measures were taken, the anarchists would destroy the city, and his stand cost him some popularity.²

As the election period of 1887 approached, it appeared to the casual observer that Harrison had little or no support. The newspapers were against him, even the organs of his own party, the latter primarily on account of his lack of standing with the national administration and for his alleged overemphasis of the principles of personal liberty. Probably business men feared him because he was not severe enough with anarchists and could see good in socialists. Yet Harrison could still boast of a considerable following. They did not publish newspapers or head great commercial enterprises, but they were numerous and loyal, which explains his fifth

¹ *Daily News Almanac* (1926), p. 813.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 ff.

nomination to the mayoralty after he had stated both privately and publicly that he would not accept such nomination. Although his previous statements to the contrary would not have deterred him from accepting the nomination had the occasion been propitious, fearing defeat, he declined the honor. The refusal of the convention to accept his declination, the importunities of its leaders and his friends, displays of loyalty beyond what he had expected, led him to waver and accept. Immediately the Democratic newspapers announced their open hostility to his candidacy, and the strongest man on his ticket refused to make the race. Harrison shortly thereafter resigned the candidacy. The whole affair stands out as one of the great blunders of Harrison's career. He was a ridiculous spectacle, and one can easily imagine the glee with which his enemies tormented him—this great campaigner and politician, who had so often hurled them to defeat. His political sun had set, so everyone said and believed; Harrison himself stated in his letter of resignation that his act debarred him from all future claims upon his party.¹

VI. HARRISON'S TRIUMPH

Upon his retirement from office he made a move which was of considerable political importance, though it is doubtful whether political ambition prompted it; he took a sixteen months' tour of the globe. It was not only to his advantage to give this sort of proof that he was out of politics, but the interesting letters of his travels, which were published in a Chicago newspaper, showed the people of Chicago more of the human side of the man, the demagogue being replaced by a kindly, sympathetic gentleman.

A few months before the 1889 elections Harrison returned to Chicago. The absence, the traveler's letters, a machine Republican mayor, had had their effect. A great popular

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 144 ff.; this study, chap. ix, sec. III.

welcome was accorded him, and his name was on many tongues for mayor. Harrison stated emphatically that he would not re-enter politics, which meant only, of course, that he did not consider the sentiment sufficiently strong for him at that time. Chicagoans, having tried a Republican who failed, were ready to try another Democrat before returning to Harrison. Mr. Cregier, the Democrat who was elected, immediately snubbed all the Harrison supporters, who in turn almost immediately set about their plans for electing Harrison mayor in 1891.¹ Failing to win the Democratic nomination that year, largely as a result of Cregier's machine tactics, Harrison and his followers bolted the convention with clear consciences, and boldly proclaimed themselves the real Democrats of Chicago. Harrison made a remarkable race for an independent; indeed, there is a strong conviction among those who know the "inside" of the 1891 election that Harrison was the winner. Several of these old citizens tell the story of Harrison's votes being divided between Washburne, the Republican, and Cregier, the regular Democrat, by the followers of the latter, who controlled the election machinery. By a mistake in tabulation, which was not discovered until too late to make the change, the official returns showed Washburne the winner. Even these falsified returns left Harrison within 4,000 votes of victory in an election in which nearly 140,000 votes were cast.²

The jubilee year for the city of Chicago, the year of the Columbian Exposition, fittingly enough marked the greatest triumph of the man who had lived in the city for nearly forty years and who was commonly regarded as its most typical citizen. No doubt Harrison had other political ambitions, but the immediate and absorbing ambition was to be Chicago's World's Fair mayor. Men of all parties agreed that he was eminently fitted for this honor, and his candidacy was urged

¹ Kraus, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.

² *Daily News Almanac* (1926), p. 813.

for months before the election. Business men requested him to accept a "Citizens' " nomination, and turn his back on the Democrats; but Harrison knew the strength of party backing and the weakness of the "Citizens" in conducting campaigns; he had defeated the latter too often. The Democratic primaries indicated him as the choice, and the convention which met shortly thereafter nominated the man who had turned it down selfishly in 1887 and who had been shamefully turned down by it in 1891. Although no stone was left unturned and no mud was left unthrown in the attempt to accomplish his defeat, he won the greatest victory of his career, being carried into office by a vote of 114,237, which was more than 17,000 majority of all votes cast.¹

We have already seen that Harrison was an aspirant for higher political honors and failed to attain them in 1884. His signal victory in 1893 placed him once more before the people as a possibility for national office. He was interested in the Senate, and probably in the vice-presidency and the presidency, though nothing was said openly of the executive positions. It is said that Cleveland expected to see Harrison a candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1896.² Whatever his party may have had in store for him was made forever a secret by the bullet of an assassin who murdered him in the closing days of the World's Fair and in the hour of his greatest triumph. With higher public honors in prospect and arrangements made for the consummation of an affair of the heart, a friend expressed it beautifully when he said, "the myrtle wreath of added political preferment and the orange blossoms lie withered on his tomb."³

¹ *Ibid.* (1894), p. 322.

² *Chicago Tribune* (October 30, 1893), p. 4.

³ A. S. Trude, quoted in the *Chicago Times* (October 29, 1893), p. 3. Important events in Harrison's political career: 1870, speech at judicial convention; 1871, elected to county commission; 1872, defeated for Congress by 3,309 votes; 1874,

SUMMARY

Harrison entered public life as a result of the disastrous fire of 1871. While he may have had no political ambitions before that time, almost immediately he showed himself to be an able campaigner; and having been elected county commissioner, he soon displayed a talent and a liking for public office. He was willing to be sacrificed in the congressional election of 1872, and his renomination came two years later partly as payment for that sacrifice, though the honor was dubious, as few expected his election. He was elected by a narrow margin, and he was again elected in 1876 by a larger majority.

Although not a pathetic figure in Congress, he preferred executive office, which came to him through his nomination and election to the mayoralty in 1879. His successive triumphs in his campaigns for mayor and his demonstrated administrative ability made him the most available Democratic candidate for governor in 1884. He was defeated partly because of dissension in his own party, but chiefly because there were normally some 40,000 more Republican than Democratic voters in Illinois. His lack of standing with the national administration and his leniency with the disorderly classes so weakened his political strength that he had to retire from the mayoralty campaign in 1887. His popularity returned after two or three years, although he was defeated as an independent candidate in 1891. His last election, that of 1893, was his greatest triumph. When he was assassinated

elected to Congress by a plurality of 8 votes; 1876, re-elected to Congress by 642 majority; 1879, elected mayor by plurality of 5,189 votes; 1881, re-elected by majority of 7,743 votes; 1883, re-elected by majority of 10,262 votes; 1884, defeated for governor by plurality of 14,599 votes; 1885, re-elected mayor by majority of 375 votes; 1891, defeated for mayor by plurality of 4,026 votes; 1893, elected mayor by majority of 21,089 votes; 1893, assassinated, October 28 (figures from *Daily News Almanac* [1926], pp. 812, 813, and Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 68).

a few months later his popularity had not abated, and he was talked of for greater honors.

This was the career of Carter Harrison: once elected county commissioner, twice elected and once defeated for Congress, defeated for governor, once defeated and five times elected mayor. The baffling questions as to why he succeeded in most instances and why he failed in some others we attempt to answer in the chapters on traits and technique, to which we now turn.

PART II
TRAITS

CHAPTER VI

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Having given some attention to the heritage, economic and social background, and private life of the subject of this study, and having presented an outline of his political career, we are now ready to undertake the main problem, namely, a consideration of the traits and technique which advanced or retarded his progress as a political leader. Technique is reserved for later chapters; in this and two succeeding chapters traits occupy our attention. For convenience in presentation we divide these traits into physical, mental, and temperamental. This classification is probably far from being scientifically accurate, and there will be those who disagree with the writer as to the category in which he places certain traits even according to this classification. There is no disposition on my part to make any fine arguments on these points, but I rather rest my case on the consideration that the method I have chosen is a convenient and common-sense way of considering some forty-five traits having to do, directly or remotely, positively or negatively, with political leadership. First, then, as to physical traits or characteristics.

I. SIZE; FEATURES

Carter Harrison stood five feet ten and three-quarters inches in his stocking feet, and he was as straight as an Indian. He was never a small man, and when he was about forty years of age he began to take on weight. At the time of his sudden taking-off he weighed 225 pounds,¹ and his figure was of the burly type. His head was large, like that of another

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (October 30, 1893), p. 2; Carter H. Harrison II, interview.

great Illinois Democrat, Stephen A. Douglas, and his neck was short and stout. In earlier years his head was adorned with light brown hair which started to turn gray when its proud possessor had attained the age of thirty. In later life his hair became thin, but he was never bald-headed, strictly speaking. His eyes were a dark blue, with large pupils.¹ They were penetrating eyes, and when the Mayor was verging upon his three score and ten, they made a most pleasing contrast with the remaining white hairs of his head and his immaculate whiskers.² His facial features were well-proportioned and regular. At the age of sixty-eight wrinkles were hardly discernible. He had the most shapely ears, a fine nose, and the Hapsburg mouth with a prominent lower lip. His hands and fingers were short and thick, not of the long aristocratic type. His feet were likewise short, but richly endowed by nature to carry the weight of his ample body, giving a spring to his gait which would not be expected in one of his size. Even at the time of his death they were as soft as those of a child and bore not a single scar.³

Physically, Harrison was the *pyknic* type. His middle height, his somewhat rounded figure, his tendency toward a fat paunch, his large head, his well-developed forehead, his soft, broad face, his short, massive neck, his smooth, well-fitting skin, and his short hands and feet are all characteristics of this type. It is this physical type which most often displays the temperament of the gay chatter-box, good nature, the capacity for enjoying life, and energy directed toward the practical. A leader or hero of this physical type, according to Kretschmer, is likely to be a daring whole-hogger, a tough, simple fighter, a cheerful organizer on a grand

¹ Mrs. Heaton Owsley, interview. ² *Chicago Tribune* (October 30, 1893), p. 3.

³ Mrs. Owsley, interview. One is struck with his resemblance to his kinsman, President Benjamin Harrison, who belonged to a different branch of the Harrison tree.



CARTER H. HARRISON AT THE AGE OF SIXTY-EIGHT

scale, a conciliatory diplomat.¹ As we proceed with the analysis of traits we shall see that Carter Harrison exhibited practically all of those which Kretschmer attributes to his physical type.

II. APPEARANCE; DRESS

He was a handsome man, and one who was not entirely unaware of that fact. He had a way of throwing back his shoulders which expressed a feeling of satisfaction and pride not easy or necessary to reduce to writing. Flattered a great deal, especially by women, his vanity was tickled, and it is not recorded that he raised his voice in opposition except in frolicsome protest.²

In physical appearance Harrison improved with age in some inexplicable way, though it can be said that his white hairs were exceedingly becoming to him. It may have been due also to the fact that he was not subject to the worries he had experienced in middle life. Be that as it may, it is generally agreed that he was handsomer at sixty-five than he was at fifty-five. It would seem that his size, his disposition, his wealth, and his prominence all joined together to make him the type of man to whom the tints of a kindly autumn were most becoming.³

He always wore good, plain clothes, although he was not so careful of how he wore them. He was fond of new clothes, and when he would put on some new garment he would strut around his house very much as a young man who was wearing his long trousers for the first time. Very particular about the type of clothing which had contact with his body, silk underwear was his special delight.⁴

When occasion demanded it he could conform to conventions in the most approved style. He had pride enough not to bring the city, his family, or himself into embarrassment

¹ Kretschmer, *Physique and Character*, pp. 28 ff., 49 ff., 209 ff., 242.

² Mrs. Owsley, interview.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

by negligence on his part. Sometimes he dressed for the opera, and when he delivered his "farewell" address in the council chambers in 1887 he wore evening dress, which an unfriendly critic described as a "poem of starched respectability."¹ One who knew him well said that he "was thoroughly conversant with forms; . . . and no man could dress more accurately than he, or conduct himself more formally when there was occasion for it."²

In later life he was somewhat peculiar about his shoes. He insisted upon having a special pair for each day of the week, giving as his reason that it was the only way to keep dry and comfortable. It seems that this was an idea he had picked up in England. One of the last things he did was to order a new set of seven pairs.³

The most conspicuous article of apparel worn by Carter H. Harrison was a black slouch hat of the highest grade of felt—heavy, soft, and pliable. He seldom wore any other kind of hat, even in the summer. He skilfully made it an important part of his political technique, and as such it will be fully discussed in the chapter on election campaigns. Concluding the subject of apparel, we should note that he wore a gold ring with a diamond spark on the little finger of his right hand, and, after the fashion of gentlemen of his day, adorned his shirt front with a set of modest diamonds.⁴ When walking, he carried a cane, usually one of his own cutting from some jungle or other in distant parts.⁵

III. STRENGTH; ENDURANCE

He was not a muscular man, having only the average amount of physical strength,⁶ but he possessed considerable

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 19, 1887), p. 1.

² *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

Chicago Times (November 5, 1893), p. 3.

⁶ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

powers of physical endurance. The younger men who were associated with him in any way have stories to tell of how he showed his endurance qualities. Several of them tell of having been with him at the Fair Grounds, and of how he wore them out before the day was over, rushing from place to place, without showing any signs of fatigue.¹ There is evidence, however, that, after such a day, the vigorous old gentleman showed some of the signs of wear and tear.² After any considerable exertion he would drop down in weariness when he had reached his home and perhaps give the order that he was not to be disturbed except for most important matters. His vivacity, his interest in everything, his pleasure at greeting his friends, the applause from the public, all combined to tide him over his expenditures of energy without his showing any particular signs of exhaustion for the time being. When he was out and going he seemed to be almost indefatigable; but when he had opportunity to rest, the process of building up again was probably not dissimilar to that necessary for any other robust man of his age.

He showed pretty much the same sort of endurance qualities in his campaigns. He might make four or five speeches in a single evening, though we must not let numbers be our sole criterion, as his speeches varied in length. Here again he was carried over by the excitement of the fray and a little nervousness over its outcome. On the whole he did display qualities of endurance, but it is well to note that had he not been such a "jolly good fellow" and so thoroughly happy when mixing around at normal times, and had he not been spurred on by the excitement of battle and concern over the final issue in his political campaigns, he would have prob-

¹ *Ibid.*

² Once he said: "I am young and full of tomorrow, and I live in the present and glory in the future. But when I climb a mountain I am full sixty-two years old, and I feel . . . there is no morrow until the tomorrow of eternal rest shall come." *A Race with the Sun*, p. 75.

ably gone down unheralded as a physical-endurance champion. The pleasure, the excitement, were leaven to his endurance powers.

IV. HEALTH

“Throughout his life he enjoyed vigorous health. He seldom needed a physician, and it was more seldom still that he would allow one to be called for himself.”¹ He was never in a hospital for treatment, but we must add that hospitals were not as popular in his day as they are at present. Twice in his life he fainted, when he was about forty-five and at an earlier time. He was subject to attacks of indigestion, though infrequently, and this may have accounted for his fainting. Rather susceptible to colds, both he and his family took care that he avoid them, fearing a development into pneumonia, which quite probably would have proved fatal to a man of his age and proportions. Aside from the annoyances just mentioned, he was perfect in health, according to the testimony of members of his family. The post mortem revealed that at his death, at sixty-eight, he had the organs of a man in middle life.²

His health does not seem to have been injured by his almost constant smoking. He smoked a pipe a great deal at home, but outside, his taste ran to black, strong cigars. He said that politics had left him indifferent to the flavor of cigars other than as to the requisites just noted; that he liked good cigars, but that he liked poor ones just as well.³ Strong drink certainly did not impair his health, for he drank very little. He kept one of the best “cellars” in Chicago, but the goods contained therein were intended primarily for his friends. He did like brandy with his Dutch cheese, and he often took a toddy at the end of the day’s work; but he would

¹ *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 22.

² Mrs. Owsley, interview.

³ *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), pp. 3, 22.

deny himself the toddy for months whenever he found himself becoming too fond of it, telling his family that no man was so old that he might not yet become a drunkard.¹

Harrison's statement concerning the effects of hostile criticism upon his general condition is of interest. In what he and others thought was his farewell to public life he said:

Conscious of well doing, I thought myself callous to the shafts of calumny and partisan malice, but my medical adviser and tried friend, Dr. DeWolf, often warned me that I must rest; that this constant abuse and false attack, the unremitting worry and care, was telling upon me more than I was aware. It is hard for a strong man to realize that he has an unseen vulnerable spot. At last I saw it. The long years of continuous strain which I had considered only healthy mental exercise; the constant poison of relentless abuse and calumny which I have treated as medicine to a brave man; the forgetfulness of some whom I have never forgotten, or failed to aid to the best of my ability; these culminated, and I resolved to stop at once.²

Aside from the fact that he gave the foregoing as his reason for retiring from politics, there is no reason to doubt his statements.

V. DIET

He ate very plain food, but plenty of it, although in later life he became somewhat abstemious. He had a peculiar fondness for two articles of diet, clabber and watermelons, legacies of his earlier life on the Kentucky plantations.³ He ate watermelons from the first of the season to the last, substituting them at his meals for water. He usually had his lunch at "Billy Boyle's" restaurant, along with some eight other kindred spirits. Occasionally he would decide to "reduce" by dispensing with his lunch, and at such times he was cross in his home until he had had his dinner. This meal he

¹ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

² *Council Proceedings*, 1887-88, p. 15.

³ *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 22.

took with great leisure, talking politics and engaging in frolic and hilarity with his family and friends.¹

He could not go without his early morning coffee. From the time he was a young man he had a cup of hot coffee brought to his bed every morning. Here one comes upon a curious idea of Mr. Harrison's: He attributed his good health, in a large measure, to his morning coffee.² As he advanced in years he developed a great fondness for tea, and always insisted that it be served in the daintiest of china cups.³

VI. SLEEP

The Mayor was an early riser, though he was not so particular about retiring early. Often he would take a nap after his lunch. Sometimes he would fall asleep in his lunch chair at "Billy Boyle's," and "Billy," with the characteristic solicitude of his class, would make every possible provision for his distinguished guest's peaceful slumber.⁴ Curiously enough, he showed the old prejudice against night air, arguing that sleeping in it was harmful. When he started for his tour around the world, one of his parting injunctions to his grown daughter was to stay out of the night air.⁵

VII. EXERCISE

He was careful to exercise with dumb-bells, not forgetting to throw out his chest and throw back his shoulders at odd times. It was his custom to take a cold plunge after these morning exercises. When he was older he had his bath brought to his room, English fashion, and took salt rubs. These preliminaries being disposed of, he would take a brisk

¹ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

² *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 22.

³ Mr. Owsley, interview.

⁴ *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 3.

⁵ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

ride on his fine Kentucky mare.¹ One is tempted to disagree with Mr. Harrison and say that the baths and the exercises probably had more to do with his good health than his coffee.²

VIII. ENERGY

Carter Harrison was a man of boundless energy in most respects, and this energy manifested itself in numerous ways. Sometimes it was in exuberance of spirit which led him to exaggerate, making statements which might have to be modified later. However, he did not ordinarily trouble himself about making the modifications. He left that to others. He did not sit still long at a time unless he had something very definite to engage his attention. He was of the nervous type when not occupied with some particular matter. When time was hanging on his hands he would rearrange his books, his curios, of which he had a large number, or putter over his other effects.³ He loved any manifestation of strength or energy. When on his ocean trips he loved to remain on deck during a great storm, when the passengers had been told to seek a safer place. Bismarck was his ideal in many respects. He said to look at him was an inspiration and made one want to be about a great task.⁴

Whatever he did, he put into it all the energy he possessed. It was one and the same whether he addressed a meeting, fought a fire, or wooed a maiden. Yet he was not without some lazy streaks, as is illustrated by the fact that the life of a gentleman planter in Kentucky appealed to him strongly, and long after he became firmly established in Chicago.⁵ A fair statement would seem to be that where he had a specific objective, his energy knew no bounds; but where there was nothing definite in view, he loved to take his ease.

¹ *Ibid.*

² See, for additional information on his exercises and reactions, chap. iv, sec. III.

³ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

IX. MANNER

"He had a dash about him which did not belong to this latitude," said the *Chicago Tribune*, "and perhaps it is for this reason that he was talked about so much." The same daily speaks of him as "vigorous and youthful in manner" and as being the "very incarnation of vivacity."¹ The *Minneapolis Tribune* comments upon his picturesque personal bearing and avers that his dash and audacity won men to him against their better judgment.² His manner was often that of a man on horseback with drawn saber. He took men's breath away by the swiftness and abruptness of his actions. As the hand of the prestidigitator is quicker than the eye of the average man, so Harrison's lightning-like movements not infrequently triumphed over the mental processes of his opponents. He had them before their brain cells could get under way, and there is no doubt that he left them, in many instances, later to become disgusted with themselves for having fallen under his spell. Although his manner has been described as inimitable and indescribably varied, its keyword is dash—audacious dash.

X. VOICE

His voice is described by his daughter as fine, resonant, and musical, not deep, but with great carrying quality.³ Alderman Smith has it, "commanding and melodious, rich in tone of sympathy and eloquent in expression of truth."⁴ Harrison himself said that he was inclined to speak a little too loud when discussion was heated.⁵ No other criticism of his voice is found; that which the Mayor gave is a criticism of his temperament rather than a criticism of his voice. It would

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

² Quoted in *Chicago Tribune* (October 30, 1893), p. 4.

³ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

⁴ Quoted in *In Memoriam, Carter H. Harrison*, p. 72.

⁵ *Chicago Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1.

seem, then, that there was nothing striking about his voice; that it was clear and distinct and carried well.

In some of his campaigns the candidate had difficulty in keeping his voice. This was noticeable in the campaigns of 1885, 1891, and 1893. After he had been speaking night after night he would get hoarse. When in this condition his voice would be scarcely audible at the beginning of his speeches, but would improve as he warmed up.¹ Sometimes his voice would leave him completely after he had made a speech, but it never failed to return when he put forth the effort in his next speech.² At times he made his most effective speeches when his voice was bad because he was careful to limit himself in time and pick out the most salient points.³ When he had a cold or when his voice was not in good condition his attitude was something like this: "Well, boys, you know me; what is the use of my making a speech anyhow?" There were few things which happened to Harrison of which he did not make political capital, and still fewer things happened to him which he permitted to remain a total loss.

SUMMARY

A large man, though not tall, with massive head, regular features, erect shoulders, expansive chest, and alert step, Carter Harrison was an attractive and imposing figure. He was not fastidious in dress, preferring comfort to appearance, which gave the impression that he was a little careless of his attire, an impression which usually operates to the advantage of a politician. His only conspicuous article of dress was his black felt hat, which was prominent only because of its constant use. He was naturally a robust man and he made every effort to keep in good health by eating plain food,

¹ *Inter-Ocean* (April 1, 1885), p. 8.

² *Chicago Tribune* (April 5, 1891), p. 1.

³ *Chicago Times* (April 2, 1893), p. 2.

getting the proper amount of sleep, taking a great deal of exercise, and avoiding excesses. His energy, expressed in many directions, was frequently commented upon, although sometimes exaggerated; yet it is true that his physical endurance measured up well when put to the strain. His most salient characteristics were probably his dash, and his spectacular, sometimes reckless, jumps from one thing to another made him famous, and by them he often won his point. His rich, clear voice, with its splendid carrying qualities, was an invaluable asset in reaching the electorate in a day when the speaker's platform figured more largely in making campaign appeals than it does at present.

CHAPTER VII

MENTAL TRAITS

Harrison's formal education as well as his general interest in literature and cultural subjects have been discussed under other headings. The purpose of this chapter is to indicate more specifically those traits which we may designate as primarily mental.

I. TYPE OF MIND

He was not particularly deep or scientific, preferring the rule-of-thumb method for arriving at his conclusions. A great traveler, observer, reader, and talker, with the ability to draw others out when he wanted information, in common with most men of his type, especially of his own day, he thought he possessed all the means for arriving at truth. Politically prudent to a marked degree, he would have been one of the last to agree that politics could be made an exact science; and when one considers the success he made of it, it is not difficult to understand why he would have taken, in all probability, the opposition ground on this question. Although unscientific in the broader application of the term, he nevertheless had clear appreciation of the value of exact methods in matters of technical administration. This stands clearly revealed in his enthusiasm for the drainage survey, which was made during his administration and with his whole-hearted support.¹

Characteristic of successful men, he had his own ideas about everything, regardless of whether they were matters in his own province. Especially in his home did he expound his views on all subjects; and with the sternness, and at the

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1886-87), p. 513 ff.

same time the kindness, of a patriarch, insisted upon their acceptance.¹ A man of marked individuality in all things, his opinions bore the same stamp.²

II. CAPACITY FOR OBSERVATION

Some intimation has already been given concerning his capacity for observation. It is proper to emphasize that he had this quality as a young man and that he developed it rapidly as he grew older, becoming a rather acute observer. The explanation of why he possessed this trait is not far to seek. In the first place, his social interests made him a natural observer. The value of observation he fully appreciated, and he consciously aimed to improve his talent in that direction. He saw things that many "observers" never saw, due in part to the fact that he was interested in curious and odd things at times, but chiefly to the fact that he took the observing process seriously, refusing to read when traveling and reproaching his companions for so occupying themselves. Fond of books, particularly of the type travelers are likely to read, the book of life and nature was the greatest of all books to him, and from it he drew most of his ideas and inspirations.³

He was never bewildered by the number and variety of things he saw. He had great powers of assimilation and the ability to distinguish between the important and the trivial, although his interests at times, quite frankly, seemingly, ran to the trivial. It is especially noticeable that in his later travels he noted much about police systems, street-paving, systems of sanitation, and kindred matters which would be of service to a public official.⁴

¹ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

² *Inter-Ocean* (October 31, 1893), editorial.

³ Harrison, *A Summer's Outing*, pp. 80, 160, 161.

⁴ *A Race with the Sun*, pp. 53, 54, 85, 86, 249, 278 ff., 287, 288; *A Summer's Outing*, pp. 20, 21, 97.

III. PROBLEM-SOLVING ABILITY

The many problems which arose from day to day in the course of the life of a busy executive were usually solved by Harrison promptly and with small likelihood of a reconsideration. His prompt and final decisions were usually correct, indicating the essentials of the executive type of mind. One of the more important cases may be given as an illustration. The fire marshal had failed to carry out his orders, and the question of discipline which involved one of the most popular and reputedly efficient officers of the city was presented. After a brief but personal investigation, Harrison summarily removed the offender, and then stood his ground despite an almost unanimous protest. Harrison's prompt and drastic method of handling this problem of discipline solved the problem of the relation of his subordinates to him for all time, his most active critics later tacitly admitting that his course was wise.¹

There were some problems which he met as mayor which could not be solved by a single and final decision, but they required rather eternal vigilance and repeated decisions. Such problems were those connected with replenishing a depleted city treasury, freeing the city of the evils of scrip, financing permanent improvements, and providing the city with an adequate drainage system and a pure water supply. These problems were for the most part solved, but only after years of patient industry. The details in regard to them belong more to the chapters on administrative and legislative leadership.

IV. INVENTIVE ABILITY

As an inventor Carter Harrison is not to be rated very high; certainly he would make a poor showing by the side of the father of the Democratic party, Jefferson. But Harrison

¹ See chap. xiv, sec. II, 1, for a fuller discussion of this case.

was not entirely without the necessary characteristics of the inventor. For one thing he had imagination—plenty of it. Much of his imagination ran back to the past and resurrected the ancient cities in all their splendor. This seems to have been a sort of inspirational imagination with him, as it had been with so many others. Then, with his temperament, it is not a wild assumption to say that much of it was of the dreamy “castle in Spain” type. A certain residuum was real constructive imagination. This is the inventor’s imagination. Not gifted in purely technical matters, he was nevertheless quick to see the practical bearing of a scientific discovery. He early saw the possibility of electric lights,¹ and his part in the installation of the patrol wagon system and its accompanying services in Chicago entitles him to lay claim to a share in the invention. He does not claim to have worked out the technicalities, but he does say that he suggested it and left its application to others, and for his part in bringing about the patrol wagon service he said he believed his “memory would live for centuries.”²

V. RESOURCEFULNESS

Not outstanding in his accomplishments as an inventor, Mr. Harrison was most fertile in resources, seldom finding himself in a position which he could not find means of defending or from which he could not make a “retreat without destruction.” In handling himself in situations which suddenly arose, and which would have annoyed and embarrassed the average man, Mayor Harrison was most happy.³ His ability to defend or extricate himself, not only without damage but usually with enhanced reputation and amid popular enthusiasm, should be listed as one of the traits which was to him of paramount political importance.

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1882-83), p. 1.

² *Ibid.* (1887-88), p. 8.

³ His son-in-law, Mr. Owsley, says he never saw him embarrassed but once.

Answering his critics in the campaign of 1893, on the charge that he had a machine behind him, he said: "They say I have a gang behind me and a democratic machine behind me. I was mayor of your city for eight years and I had a machine behind me then. It was always behind me, too, and never got in front of me either." [Applause and cries of "That's right, Carter!"]¹

At the time of his fourth race for the mayoralty the *Tribune* represented him in a cartoon as a broken-down, ring-boned, spavined, and altogether played-out race horse. The Mayor carried the paper to the speaker's platform, criticized some of the imperfections of the cartoon, seemed to enjoy it, and announced it good as a whole.² He said it looked like a horse he had seen at the races the last fall. The animal was bandaged up, and, when led out by the groom, looked rather shaky; but the Mayor was not deceived, bought pools on the horse, and won money.³

His wealthy and honest but uneducated and maladroit opponent in 1893 called Mr. Harrison on his claims of being a man of the people. Mr. Allerton said in effect: "Carter Harrison pretends to be a people's man, a great democrat, and all that. He is not sincere in this. He is a wealthy man, and he has gotten his money from the people. Just a short time ago he sent to Europe and got two peacocks, at *great expense*. Yet a man indulging in such extravagance poses as a common man—a man of the people." Mr. Harrison's reply was about as follows: "I see that Sam has charged me with having purchased peacocks from abroad, and at great expense. The strange thing about it is that Sam is right; it is the first time he has been right in this campaign. Yes, I have secured two peacocks, at *great expense*. I suppose they are

¹ *Chicago Times* (April 1, 1893), p. 2.

² *Chicago Tribune* (March 31, 1885), p. 3.

³ *Chicago Daily News* (April 1, 1885), p. 3.

the only peacocks in Chicago, and they are as fine as can be seen anywhere. I got them so that the people of Chicago might see them. They are up there in my yard, and I give you a hearty invitation to come up and see them. Don't forget to come; I want to see you and show you those beautiful peacocks." It is reported that the people were satisfied that Mr. Harrison had not betrayed them by investing his means in two peacocks.¹

In his speeches Harrison often laid claim to the blood of the various races and nationalities. He seldom failed to show some very close relationship to whatever group happened to have a pronounced majority in his audience. On one occasion he was to address the Negroes, and everyone watched with rather keen interest to see whether he would slight the Negroes by neglecting to claim kin with them or scandalize his family by establishing such kinship. He did neither. He said that he was a southern gentleman, born in Kentucky, and that he was proud to state that he had been nursed by a Negro "mammy," and that (quickly twisting a bit of hair on his finger) he had a little kink in his hair.²

On the platform he was never put to confusion by hecklers. In fact he seemed to enjoy a certain amount of it, since it put a little more "punch" in his meetings. On one occasion he wanted to know if he had ever looked to the right or left in doing his duty. Obviously he expected "No," or at least the silent "No," for an answer, but one from the audience shouted "Yes." "Never mind; I will answer that question myself," said the Mayor.³ At another time, when he was boasting somewhat, someone from the gallery cried, "What about the eagle?" Replied the candidate, "Oh, never mind the eagle. Let me tell you about Judge Smith."⁴ If the ques-

¹ Colonel Chamberlin, interview.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Chicago Tribune* (April 1, 1881), p. 9.

⁴ *Chicago Daily News* (April 1, 1885), p. 1.

tion put to him when he was speaking was at all pertinent, he usually expressed great pleasure that it had been asked, and proceeded to give a most plausible answer. On more than one occasion his personal intercession prevented loyal followers from throwing a heckler out of the window.¹

The term "The Eagle," applied to him somewhat in ridicule because of his ornate and stilted style of oratory, came to be a proud possession. Originally a weapon of his opponents, it soon passed from their hands to be used by Carter and his friends, who could make better use of it than its originators. In one of his campaigns he had a poster which listed his accomplishments, on the top of which was the eagle. The voter was asked to fly with the eagle.² We might multiply instances of his resourcefulness in politics, but we conclude with the *Tribune's* statement that he was "shrewd and fertile in his resources and expedients."³

VI. JUDGMENT

His judgment was essentially sound. When he bought property, he seldom made a mistake. A buyer rather than a seller of real estate, he took his profits in appreciation and rents rather than in feverishly looking about for purchasers who might net him profit on his investments.⁴ On one deal he lost rather heavily. This was in connection with his taking over the *Chicago Times*, the leading Democratic organ of Chicago. Here his mistake was not so much due to lack of business judgment as it was due to his desire to have a newspaper in Chicago upon which he could rely through fair weather and foul.⁵ He had gone out of office in 1887 with the press in united opposition. "Not a newspaper in Chicago is

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 4, 1891), p. 1; Mr. Owsley, interview.

² Colonel Chamberlin, interview.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.* (October 31, 1893), pp. 2, 3.

⁵ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

willing to set me right,"¹ he said. Reluctant to leave office and desirous of returning on another day, he thought that a newspaper would stand him in good stead; so he bought the *Times* against the earnest entreaties of his family and the advice of his friends.² Considering the majority he piled up in 1893, the only campaign in which he had the services of his newspaper, we are not prepared to say that his political judgment was not 100 per cent when he bought the paper, whatever might be said about it as a business venture.

He knew when to run for office. Three times a candidate for Congress, he was twice elected, failing in his first attempt. He was six³ times a candidate for mayor, and was five times elected. He failed of election in his fifth campaign, and he did not expect to be elected when he entered the race, though he did think he had a good chance of election as the campaign developed.⁴ He entered this particular race as a protest against the treatment he had received at the hands of the Democratic machine, and seems to have been satisfied when he had caused that machine's defeat.⁵ In 1887 he became a candidate against his will, and after a few days reflection sent his resignation to the committee, accurately gauging the sentiment against him and forecasting the certainty of his defeat.⁶ He left his party in a sorry plight, but we must credit him with good judgment.

VII. FORESIGHT

It was Carter Harrison's foresight which netted him his fortune. When he came to Chicago in 1855 Mr. John B.

¹ Quoted in Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

² Mrs. Owsley, interview.

³ If we count the time he accepted the nomination but resigned before election time, he was seven times a candidate.

⁴ Mr. Owsley, interview.

⁵ *Chicago Daily News* (March 23, 1891), p. 2.

⁶ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 146 ff.

75258-

Drake asked him what he thought of the city. Mr. Drake, in 1893, still remembered the vehemence of Harrison's reply, which was: "I think Chicago is destined to be the greatest city on this continent. I have decided to cast my lot with her."¹ We have already noted that it was by the investment of all his available funds in real estate, at the time he came to Chicago, that he laid the foundations for his ample competency.

His vision and prophecy of a greater Chicago led him, after the fashion of prophets, to labor for the coming of the day. We take, for illustration, his efforts to resist the schemes of the railroads to get concessions in the city which would cripple its chances for future development. Many a Chicagoan of today can read his advice to the council in 1879 and sigh because it was not followed:

There should certainly be not more than three passenger depots in Chicago—one in the South, one in the North, and one in the West Division. The one in the South should be on the lake with approaches over the water. It would, indeed, be better if there were but one other in the entire city, and that one located on the west bank of the river, into which the various roads could enter on lines contiguous to the river, so as to permit a complete and thorough system of viaducts starting from the various bridges, which are necessarily elevated, and then spanning over all the roads which enter the common depot. . . .²

In protesting against the particular ordinance in question, he uttered prophetic words:

If you permit this ordinance to go into effect; if you hand it over to this corporation to be crossed and recrossed by its many tracks, then you may as well erect barriers at its two ends and call it a railroad alley. . . . If this ordinance becomes a law, all that area from Van Buren Street to Sixteenth, and west of State Street, will be as the victim within the folds of a boa-constrictor, crushed into an inert mass, and then leisurely swallowed. . . .³

¹ Quoted in *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 3.

² *Council Proceedings* (1879), pp. 180, 181.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

Foreseeing clearly the growth of the city, which only "dire political revolution" could prevent, working for its expansion, pleading that its development might proceed unhampered, sounding the praise of his "bride"—Chicago—in season and out of season, and getting ridicule from the East and from the sophisticated in the city he was doing so much to better, he endeared himself to the hearts of the typical, optimistic Chicagoans of his day, who saw in him, as many Americans saw in the late Roosevelt, an embodiment of their own ideals.

VIII. MENTAL POISE

Harrison's mind worked rapidly. Some of the most important of his acts seem to have been the results of conclusions quickly arrived at. We mention in this connection his prompt decision to remove his fire marshal when that official failed to follow the Mayor's orders.¹ Sometimes the rapidity with which he determined upon action would indicate that he hardly took time to reflect at all, the action appearing to be "instinctive."² Such actions were common with him in the time of emergencies, a good illustration of which will appear in the next chapter where his courage is being discussed.

His threshold of mental action was low. Any little stimulus was likely to set him off. But this is not to say that he was easily "upset" by untoward happenings. However much he might give physical manifestations of rage, indignation, and similar outlets, under these his mind seemed to be working in a normal fashion. His mind was essentially the executive type, the type which reacted to almost everything rather quickly, but without flurry.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 98 ff.

² Said Chauncey M. Depew: ". . . His convictions as to what should be done or what he should do were kept in the background. They were followed so closely by action that the thought and its completion seemed to be simultaneous." *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 5.

IX. MEMORY

Mr. Harrison's memory was seldom at fault, and it held many dates and details.¹ It was this memory which "enabled him to tell of his travels around the world with an imagination so vivid that he gave tint and color to the places he visited that left impressions on the minds of those who listened never to be effaced."² He was most happy in his ability to remember names and faces. If there was any reason why a man should expect the city's chief to remember him, he was not likely to be disappointed. As he sat at his outer desk, giving ear to the public generally, he would call the name of many who appeared before him, more likely the first name than the last.³ Mayor Harrison was not the type of man who often had to resort to the expedient: "Your face is quite familiar but I can't recall you name." Indeed, it is doubtful if he ever used such an expression; when he couldn't recall the name, he managed in some way to save the pride of the person who approached him.⁴

X. CAPACITY FOR DETAILS

His capacity for details is well illustrated in both his legislative and administrative acts as mayor. For more extended treatment of this point the reader is referred to the chapters on administration and legislation, but we may here state the principles. In his vetoes of ordinances, granting privileges to public utility corporations, one cannot but note the detail of his knowledge of the whole problem, and his knowledge of every street and alley which would be involved in such a grant.⁵ So, in a minor provision for improving a particular street, the Mayor was sure to ascertain if the property own-

¹ *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 22.

² *Ibid.* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (April 19, 1893), p. 2.

⁴ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

⁵ *Council Proceedings* (1879-80), pp. 178 ff.

ers' petition was in due form and whether it was bona fide or party faked.¹ In purely administrative matters his detailed knowledge of the city ever protected the city's interest and saved the Mayor from embarrassment and annoyance. It is no exaggeration to say that he knew practically what was the condition in every block of the city at a given moment. This knowledge he acquired by his daily rides through the streets and alleys.²

XI. CAPACITY FOR MENTAL DEVELOPMENT

In concluding this chapter some mention should be made of his learning capacity, or capacity for mental development. One might hastily conclude that his learning to speak in later life furnished an illustration of this capacity; but as the writer will demonstrate later, this "learning" to speak was not so much a mental development as it was the discovery of a latent talent. A demonstration of this capacity is, however, clearly manifested in connection with the drainage survey, already referred to. Formerly Mr. Harrison had said that the officials of the city knew about what was required in the way of engineering from surveys which had been made years before, and that what was now needed was "legislative statesmanship and financiering ability."³ Yet further reflection resulted in his loyal co-operation with the survey projectors, and no man was more enthusiastic over the findings of the survey commission than he.⁴

He has an interesting statement to make concerning the influence of office in developing one's faculties: "Responsibility and power develop a man and make him equal to a great emergency, even as he himself little dreamed of."⁵ He

¹ *Ibid.* (1883-84), p. 187.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 239; Mrs. Owsley, interview.

³ *Council Proceedings* (1885-86), p. 301.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1886-87), p. 514.

⁵ Address before the Century Club of New York. Quoted in Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 247, 248.

believed sincerely in a powerful city executive, holding that only in this way could effective administration be secured, and that if the people used any sort of discretion in selecting that official, then the mayor would be one who would develop and measure up to the responsibilities of the office.¹

SUMMARY

Although Harrison did not have a scientific mind, his interest in peoples and their institutions, his means for travel, and his capacity for observation gave him knowledge which was of great value to a public man. In solving problems he was probably at his best with those problems which could be settled by a single and final decision—a decision the execution of which involved something of the dramatic; yet he showed intelligence and mental staying power in the larger problems of administration. He was not gifted as an inventor, though he was quick to see the possibilities of the invention of another. In resourcefulness all unite in rating him as first class, his shrewdness enabling him to turn most of the weapons of his enemies into boomerangs. His judgment was seldom at fault, and on at least one occasion he followed it at the sacrifice of loyalty to his party. He was gifted with foresight which, seasoned with imagination, amounted almost to the vision of a prophet. Add to these a splendid memory, a mind which acted quickly, but usually without flurry, a capacity for details, and his ability to receive new ideas, and we have the important mental traits of Carter H. Harrison.

Of these traits there is no question that his resourcefulness takes first place, not only as his dominant trait but in the political use to which he put it. Next to this trait we place his judgment, foresight, and memory, the three which stood him in good stead both in politics and in administration.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 245 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

TEMPERAMENTAL TRAITS

In this chapter we are concerned primarily with those traits of temperament the leader possessed which made him a superlatively social being. Nearly all of the traits which made the social man, in the broad sense, are found in Carter Harrison to a marked degree. He had a few other special traits which placed him far above the rank and file in dealing with his fellows and winning their approval; yet some of his traits were not altogether lovely, and operated somewhat to his disadvantage.

I. THE OLD-SCHOOL GENTLEMAN

"Whole souled, open hearted, genial, companionable, and gracious—in short, the perfect type of a well-educated gentleman of the old school" is Robert Ingersoll's characterization.¹ The Colonel might well have said of the "old southern school" in place of the "old school"; for Mr. Harrison never forgot that he was a southerner, a Kentuckian; nor did those who came in contact with him need any reminder of the fact. They had read of his type in books of fiction which had for their setting the Kentucky blue grass of the antebellum period. A courtly Kentucky gentleman he remained throughout his life. This is especially noticeable when he is viewed from the more narrow social or "society" standpoint. He always carried his old respect for women, and he would have been considered a chivalrous knight even "when knighthood was in flower."

Characteristic of the real gentleman, Carter Harrison was

¹ *Chicago Times* (October 31, 1893), p. 3.

equally at home at Prince Bismarck's¹ breakfast table or in the kitchen with the servants of an English nobleman.² With all his ease of manner, those outside of his own class never got familiar with him. He might tip his hat to the wash-woman and wish her a pleasant morning, or crack a joke with her husband, the janitor, but these people always kept their distance, proud of the fact that the Mayor noticed them at all, and fearful that an advance on their part would cause the crumbs of his good-fellowship to cease falling. Their Mayor was a mighty man; a word or a bow from him was something to talk about, and all they dared expect or hope for.³

Although a gentleman of the old southern school, we must note that the rough and tumble of politics in Chicago modified his gentlemanly actions to some extent in that particular. His election to Congress in 1874 by a very narrow margin caused him to consider the cost of chivalry in politics. He explained his predicament to an audience during his campaign for the mayoralty in 1881:

I was elected by only eight votes. You remember it was thought for about ten days after the election that I was beaten by one vote. I had been fool enough to vote for my opponent. [Laughter.] It was an old habit in the land that I came from for each candidate to vote for his opponent. I believe my opponent did not vote for me, and it came very near beating me. [Laughter.] I concluded after that that whenever I was running for office I would vote for the best man, and I have generally voted for myself since. [Applause and laughter.]⁴

II. GENIALITY

Under normal circumstances he fairly bubbled with geniality and cordiality. This trait showed no abatement as he grew older. His old classmates of Yale, 1845, were greeted

¹ Harrison, *Race with the Sun*, pp. 537 ff.

² *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

³ Colonel Chamberlin, interview.

⁴ *Chicago Times* (April 3, 1881), p. 2.

with all the enthusiasm the Mayor had shown as a good fellow on the Yale campus when they dropped in at the City Hall during the World's Fair.¹ Mr. Trude says, "He was witty, instructive, and ever good natured."² A *Tribune* editorial speaks of him as a "cheerful, companionable man, beloved by many and hated by few."³ A gentleman who spent part of Harrison's last day with him at the Fair Grounds speaks of how he had a word and a smile for everybody. He tells of their meeting the Superintendent of the Sewers with a party of friends and of Harrison greeting them warmly and dragging them off to the French section to see the bronzes. From there they went to the Tiffany exhibit, the ever genial Mayor joining in the pushing crowd until recognized by the manager, who cleared the building as Carter uttered laughing protests about being no better than anybody else.⁴ He radiated good cheer. His genial, cheerful presence before, or in the midst of, a crowd had an effect not unlike that produced by a popular song in which all join, or a lively number by a band. The merry, animated old gentleman with the "song in his heart" pulled the average man away from the humdrum and himself.

III. OPTIMISM

Carter Harrison was essentially an optimist, although he had his troubles and at times was subject to worry and gloom. He had faith in the future just as a matter of faith, but we have also seen that he had foresight. In Chicago, when she was suffering sometimes from growing pains, but growing nevertheless, a man possessed of the characteristics just mentioned could hardly be otherwise than optimistic for the future of Chicago and for the ultimate ease of those who had

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

² *Chicago Times* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.* (October 30, 1893), p. 2.

invested in its real estate. Many of his friends were real-estate men like himself; some of them were Kentuckians who were following practically the same course he was following. All of them were confirmed optimists.¹ It was this faith in the future, this optimism for the Chicago of tomorrow, that no doubt was one of the causes for the people of the city taking him to their hearts.

IV. SENSE OF HUMOR

Harrison had a type of humor often observed in practical men. He was not a humorist in the sense of being a teller of good jokes; he told few jokes, and it does not appear that he had any mimetic talent, which is well-nigh indispensable to the successful telling of jokes. His humor, which is apparent in nearly all of his speeches, and even in many of his official communications from the City Hall,² was largely incidental and natural, and was directly on the point at hand rather than an illustration of the point. In other words, his way of handling his subject was such that his witticisms were seldom of the extraneous variety. The point and his humor were inseparable, which gave him a great advantage over many speakers whose audiences remembered their good stories, but forgot the points they illustrated. A sample of his humor must be given in order to make clear his method. In his campaign for the third term in 1883 he had some fun at the expense of the Republican candidate, the candidate's two staunch backers, and the reformers in general:

Stiles says when Cary gets in there is to be a Paradise in Chicago. [Laughter.] Jerry Monroe's place is going to be turned into a mission. [Laughter.] The garden on State Street is to be filled every day with ladies singing hymns and praying. [Laughter.] State Street is to be covered with brussels carpet, and a canopy put over it through which you can see hallelujahs coming. [Laughter.] The lion will lie down with the lamb—the Lord help the lamb—and we are going to be a happy family; and all

¹ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

² See chap. xiii, secs. III and IV.

of us thieves and bummers are going to be kicked into outer darkness. What will become of Storrs and Stiles when the thieves are driven out? [Applause.]¹

V. SENSE OF FAIR PLAY

Harrison had a sense of fair play which manifested itself at all times, with the possible exception of the occasion of a heated political campaign. For varying from the rule in such cases we can easily forgive him, as the opposition used all the known methods of civilized political warfare in its attempts to accomplish his defeat. It was the absence of fair play, in some instances, on the part of the newspapers which contributed to Harrison's strength; for the average supporter of "The Eagle" despised the "newspaper calumnies," and many high-class citizens, having regard for decency and fair play, were impelled to vote for Harrison.² When Mr. Harrison came to be the owner of a paper he was more careful than were his critics to follow a fair-play policy, seldom, if ever, stooping to personal abuse.³

In the municipal election of 1891 a treasurer was chosen who was unable to get the bond required by law, due to a combination of powerful interested parties. This was quite contrary to Harrison's sense of right, and, although the man was not of his political party, the then ex-Mayor joined with other public-spirited citizens and furnished the bond.⁴

As mayor he seems to have adhered to his policy of equal treatment. On the subject of the rights of the saloon men, he said:

I am not the champion of those engaged in the liquor business, but these men . . . are entitled to fair treatment. They have their rights and will, if it is in my power, receive fair play. . . .

The personal rights and the personal liberty of men are the dearest rights, and will always, I trust, find in me a faithful and valiant defender.⁵

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 3, 1883), p. 2. Storrs and Stiles were lawyers, of course.

² *Chicago Times* (April 4, 1883), editorial.

³ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

⁴ *Chicago Times* (April 1, 1893), editorial.

⁵ *Council Proceedings* (1883-84), p. 44.

VI. GOODNESS OF HEART

"I could recount many instances of his noble heart," said Alderman Dixon, a Republican member of the council during most of Harrison's administration, "his door was ever open, his hand ever ready, and his heart ever free to all who wished to approach him."¹ The testimony is all on the side of his goodness of heart; there are different adjectives used, but the sum and substance of various estimates amount to essentially the same. "Responding to the sorrows of others and suffering more from the troubles of others than from his own,"² Carter Harrison was never looked upon as being bad at heart, whatever opinion might have been held of some of his political moves.

His reputation for good deeds and liberality was well merited. His first public office was that of a county commissioner, and when his salary for three years of excellent service was finally paid, he turned the entire amount over to the officers of the Foundlings' Home.³ During a period of economic depression in Chicago he was hard up, being in a tight place to find cash to pay taxes on his large holdings in real estate. As he was bemoaning the hardness of the times with an associate, a man who had lost all he had in the crisis came in and spoke a few words to him in a low tone. Harrison turned to his secretary and told him to write a check for a hundred dollars, which was delivered to the bankrupt. He laughed away the incident, saying that it was a good thing he didn't ask for more.⁴ While he was mayor he showed heartfelt interest in those who had served the city faithfully and who in sickness or old age were in want. The capable comptroller who served him so long was stricken with paral-

¹ *In Memoriam, Carter H. Harrison*, p. 48.

² *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 22.

³ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁴ *Chicago Tribune* (October 30, 1893), p. 3.

ysis, and it was Harrison's privilege to lead a movement of substantial citizens to buy him a home.¹

Kind-hearted and generous in his relations with others, nothing hurt him so much as the lost confidence of a friend. Declaring that he did not intend to accept a nomination in 1887, but apparently reserving the feminine right of the politician to change his mind, Harrison had published a letter to the effect that his friends should not use his name in connection with the mayoralty nomination. This and his later actions at the convention ruined all chances for the candidacy of a capable member of his administration who wanted the nomination. The Mayor said that he could not believe that Mr. Cregier, the aspiring candidate, thought that he was treacherous, that he would rather lose his life than his honor. But Mr. Cregier thought no less, and as Mr. Harrison sat with the sad central committee and discussed the tragedy his voice was "thick and tremulous" and his eyes were filled with tears.² Harrison was not dropping tears on his political bier, but he was hurt beyond measure because his trusted lieutenant and sometime friend felt that he had played him false.³

VII. INTEGRITY; SINCERITY

Another important quality in Mr. Harrison's make-up was his integrity. In administrative affairs this characteristic was ever present; in politics there is some room for difference of opinion. First, from the standpoint of administration. Support of his fellow-men he won by his "unflinching fidelity to the public interests and his wise and successful management of public affairs." Faith in him was based on his "in-

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1886-87), p. 342.

² *Chicago Daily News* (March 26, 1887), p. 2.

³ Mr. Cregier was nominated and elected in 1889, and, although he never supported Harrison politically after 1887, he paid him the highest tribute. *Chicago Tribune* (November 1, 1893), p. 2.

tegrity, wisdom, and patriotic devotion to the public interests.”¹ “What was most remarkable about Mr. Harrison was his success in dealing with the population of a great city, and credited with controlling the very toughest elements without the slightest suggestion against his personal integrity.”² “For six years the personal honesty of Carter Harrison has been the one redeeming feature of an administration more disgraceful as to its general tone than any former in our history.”³ These are some of the testimonials of his integrity, a deserved reputation for which he acquired in his first public office as county commissioner,⁴ and later, in Congress, where he refused to join in a movement to “whitewash” a fellow Democrat.⁵ It was this uprightness which he displayed in office that led his officials to follow the same course. It is probably safe to say that the personnel of no administration in Chicago has ever exceeded that of Carter H. Harrison in personal integrity. “His watchword was ‘Do your Duty.’ And when we looked at him, we could do nothing else than do our duty,” said an Alderman. “He was the picture of honesty.”⁶

We now approach the more difficult question of his honesty and sincerity in politics. It is safe to say that he was out to win. He conscientiously believed that he was the “best mayor Chicago ever had,” and it would not be a wild jump from this for him to conclude that the end justified the means. No charge is made against him for saying before each campaign that he didn’t care to be nominated again, etc. This is part of the technique of politicians of all time, and we leave

¹ Judge Robinson, in *In Memoriam, Carter H. Harrison*, p. 44.

² Quoted in *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 2.

³ *Chicago Daily News* (April 1, 1885), editorial.

⁴ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁵ *Congressional Record*, 2d session, 45th Cong., VII, Part III, 2206-17.

⁶ Ald. Praeger, in *In Memoriam, Carter H. Harrison*, pp. 55, 56.

them in undisputed possession and enjoyment of it. A democrat at all times, his democracy was magnified as election time approached. He is accused of being an opportunist. On the tariff question he flatly stated that the Democrats should modify their program, as not to do so meant certain defeat. It is but fair to him to state that he did not share the views of the majority of his fellow-Democrats on this point, anyhow. He was a Clay protectionist throughout his life.¹ In his campaigns he often told his followers to take the Republican money and vote the Democratic ticket.² And then there are statements made by him concerning his relations with other men which are flatly denied by the latter the next day.³ Leaving specific illustrations and analyses to be taken up in the chapter on campaign methods, we may here conclude that he was one man in discharging the duties of his office—honest, sincere, radiating integrity; and quite another man in politics—tricky, scheming, advocating a policy of expediency.

VIII. SOCIAL INSIGHT

He acquired this ability to divine the opinions and movements of men by his constant mingling and talking with people of every type. He went to the people and he allowed them to come to him. Their knowledge of each other increased with the years. Said Victor Lawson: “. . . I never knew a man who possessed in such a marked degree the politician’s prime quality of keeping in touch with the masses and commanding their affection. To this, even more than to his tremendous energy, I believe that his success as a politician was due.”⁴ In the language of the *Chicago Times*,

“Carter and his eagle” have become household words in this city. Personal vanity is one of Mr. Harrison’s ruling characteristics, but behind

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 135, 185.

² *Chicago Tribune* (April 3, 1885), p. 3.

³ *Ibid.* (April 5, 1891), p. 2.

⁴ Quoted in *ibid.* (October 30, 1893), p. 4.

all his verbosity and seeming superficiality there is sturdy horse sense and an honesty of purpose that is felt and understood by the people. . . . Were it not for that fact he could not hold the confidence of the community for an instant, but the people know him better than he knows himself. . . .¹

Having established relations and mutual confidence between Harrison and the people, it is now to inquire into the political significance of such understandings. The ruling principle here is that Harrison did not fear the people; he trusted them when other men of property and influence were afraid, and acted like "lone widows with their silver spoons." There was a considerable Socialist scare in Chicago in the mayoralty campaign of 1887. The press announced that the election of the candidate of that party would ruin Chicago, and then "sounded the alarm that he was likely to be elected." Harrison said, "Chicago could not be destroyed, it mattered not who was elected," and we wanted it known in Chicago and abroad in the land that he had no fear for his property with the Socialists in power.² We go far in explaining the reason for his repeated rewards at the hand of the electorate when we say they were due to the people returning to him the confidence and trust he reposed in them.

IX. PERSONAL INSIGHT

Proceeding now from the general to the particular, we find the Mayor's personal insight every whit as penetrating as his social insight. Carter Harrison was a great man-finder and appraiser. This is another characteristic of his upon which there is no conflicting evidence. Having found a good man, he kept him as long as he would co-operate; but the instant he fell down, he had to go. Then the Mayor would find another man just as good, not entertaining the foolish idea that there was just one man who could fill a responsible

¹ *Chicago Times* (April 3, 1881), p. 2.

² *Council Proceedings* (1887-88), p. 14.

position.¹ It was this consummate skill in judging men which made Harrison a great mayor. Even in the days when the Mayor was most bitterly assailed and the cry of "turn the rascals out" was proclaimed from pulpit and press, the rascals referred to were not the Mayor's administrative helpers, but his alleged gambling friends and supporters. In the same breath the *Inter-Ocean* admits that there "is by no means a demand for a new set of city officeholders. On the contrary, the great body of our city officials and employees are faithful men, and should be, and no doubt will be, retained whoever is elected Mayor."² To all of such criticism, which at the same time gave the Mayor unintended praise, he replied that by indorsing the work of his officials, who really administered the affairs of the city, they were indorsing his administration.³

X. COURAGE

No one ever questioned his courage. One of his unattained ambitions was to kill a burglar in his Ashland Avenue mansion. Whenever he heard a noise in the house at night he would investigate with no seeming regard for the safety of his person and unmindful of the fact that he was making a good target for any stealthy visitor. He instilled the idea of courage into his children, a part of the training being that the younger members of his family should walk around the house after dark.⁴

The story is often told of his forcing his way into a polling booth and compelling a recount of the ballots when he was about to be cheated out of an election to Congress in 1874.⁵ During the anarchist troubles in Chicago he showed his courage by attending the meeting at the Haymarket, although

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (July 4, 1879), p. 1.

² *Inter-Ocean* (April 5, 1885), editorial.

³ *Council Proceedings* (1885-86), p. 51.

⁴ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

⁵ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

it happens that he left before the bomb was thrown. At this meeting, as was customary with him, he had difficulty in keeping his cigar burning. He struck match after match, and when cautioned that he was thereby revealing his presence, he replied that he wanted them to know that their Mayor was there.¹

On more than one occasion he rendered signal service by going into the midst of discontented and unemployed laborers or striking workmen and quelling the disturbances largely through his daring. Says Mr. Abbot: "The fearless daring of his presence elicited the admiration of the more temperate, and cowed the turbulent into silence."² A very serious strike and some disorder was in progress at the Deering Harvester Works. Mayor Harrison finally issued a proclamation calling upon the crowd to disperse. Policemen were directed to take the patrol wagon, drive out, and read the Mayor's proclamation to the strikers, most of whom were foreigners. When the policemen arrived at the scene of the threatening disorder the strikers unhooked the horses, took possession of the patrol wagon and drove the police away. When the Mayor heard of it he re-enacted the ride of his famous fellow-townsmen, Phil Sheridan, of Shenandoah Valley fame. Rushing for his horse before anyone knew what he was about, he galloped to the "Dark Road" district, rode into the midst of the angry crowd, and made them a speech. He wanted to know why they had treated the police in such a shameful way? Why they couldn't have respect for laws, etc.? Then he told them that *he* was Mayor, and that if they did not behave themselves he would run them all out of the country. The crowds having quieted down, he read his proclamation, after which the workmen dispersed, though not before giving cheers for Mayor Harrison.³

¹ *Chicago Times* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

³ Colonel Chamberlin, interview.

Not only was he without physical fear, but he had none of the timid quakings about the possibility of an uprising which so often worried men of his economic class in Chicago during the eighties. He regarded the anarchists as foolish and absurd rather than dangerous. Herr Johann Most, author of a book on revolutionary anarchism, was allowed to speak and distribute his book in Chicago despite the protests of "timid millionaires," as the Mayor called them.¹ Even after the Haymarket Riot he consistently held his ground.² The Mayor felt that free speech was a necessary and sufficient outlet for the malcontents.

XI. DRAMATIC QUALITIES

Carter Harrison's life was a drama. His approach to almost everything was dramatic. His entrance was always an important part of the program for any political gathering. The writer has found no case in which he entered the hall until it was full of people who had been previously warmed up by lesser lights. We find such accounts of his meetings as this: "From the start the gathering was a most enthusiastic one, and sometimes was wildly demonstrative in expression of feeling. This was particularly so when shortly after nine o'clock Carter Harrison arrived. The shout at the doors swelled along in volume towards the speakers' stand until it became a deafening tumult of applause, and when Carter himself appeared on the platform the audience swung hats and umbrellas, and shouted again and again."³

He was neither an actor nor a clown when before an audience, but his well-timed entrance, the extension of his hand in "friendship and love," his use of the slouch hat, and the surprises he sprung, all combined to give a decidedly

¹ *Chicago Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (April 4, 1891), p. 1.

dramatic effect. When nominated for the fifth term, in 1887, "it was an exceedingly dramatic scene when Carter H. Harrison mounted the platform and announced that he would run if every delegate in the hall would place his hand on his heart and pledge himself personally to support him for Mayor, and each delegate took the pledge demanded. . . ."¹

Throughout his political career his movements were always dramatic. When he was about to be nominated for governor, "at a critical point in the proceedings he appeared on the floor armed with a proxy from an accommodating delegate." And further, "when the report of the committee on resolutions was read to the convention Harrison suddenly appeared claiming the floor," was given his customary enthusiastic welcome, though many of the delegates were opposed to his views. He was here fighting the "tariff for revenue only" program as he did in a still more dramatic fashion at the Iroquois Club "free-trade" banquet. He was successful in his fight, the convention finally accepting his views, although not without some ill feeling on the part of a substantial minority of its members.²

Sometimes his dramatic actions were symbolic, as when he entered his office at the city hall the first morning of his last term. "As he opened the door he removed the key, threw it over to the private secretary, and said: 'Throw that key away; we will have no lock or key on this administration.'"³

"His career was a series of dramatic incidents enveloped in a haze of festivities."⁴ His actions were almost sure to make good newspaper material because he was either doing something spectacular or something different. He may not

¹ Quoted in *Chicago Times* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 182, 184, 186, 187. See also chap. ix, this work.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (April 18, 1893), p. 1.

⁴ Quoted from *Chicago Skandinaven*, in *Chicago Tribune* (October 30, 1893), p. 3.

have realized the full value of this at first, but there is little doubt that he came to appreciate, with Lincoln, the value of being talked about. Even in Congress, before his political career had fairly started, he acquired publicity through his humor and his dramatic qualities.

XII. A LOVER OF PAGEANTRY

He was a great lover of pageantry and display of almost any kind. It was this which led him to rise to the defense of the Marine Band, already mentioned. It was this love of pageantry coupled with pride in his country which led him to perform valiant service for the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. He was on the House Committee for this enterprise, and no one had it nearer his heart than Harrison. His speech in which he argued the constitutionality of an appropriation for it is most ornate and oratorical, but it was effective and well received.¹ It goes without saying that he was indefatigable in his efforts to get the Columbian Exposition for Chicago. Here, of course, he was not blind to the commercial value of the Fair, but it was this same love for great displays which gave him a sort of sentimental interest in it, and which made him one of the most important figures of it.

Always happy in a parade or show, and almost certain to be assigned a conspicuous place in any such exhibition, not only because of his official position, but also because of his imposing figure and genial presence, Carter H. Harrison took part in many public displays. As with other public men of his type, he was thrilled with the sensation of being on parade, and never grew weary of seeing himself pass by.

XIII. DESIRE FOR APPLAUSE AND FAME

It is said that he entered public life in order to do something worthy of the distinguished name he bore,² and there is no doubt that such explanation is partially correct; but it is also clear that his desire for recognition, approval, and

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff.

² Mrs. Owsley, interview.

fame had a great deal to do with his choosing a public career. In his second inaugural address as mayor he said:

In passing from my first into a second term of office as mayor of this great city, I wish to express to the citizens of Chicago my deep gratitude for the high honor they have conferred upon me, and to assure them that in re-electing me by so handsome a majority I feel most keenly that they have placed me under increasing obligations to do my best to merit their confidence. . . . To deserve the applause of the people is my highest ambition, to obtain it is my greatest pleasure.¹

Shortly before his death he stood with Adolf Kraus at the funeral of a very prominent Chicagoan. The Mayor turned to his friend and said: "If when I die, I have such an enormous funeral and so many thousands of my fellow-citizens show their love for me, I shall feel that I have not lived in vain, and I should be a very proud man."² Governor Altgeld, in giving his estimate of Carter Harrison, said: "He was an ambitious man and he had talents that warranted him in being so. He has told me often that his prayer was that he should not be forgotten—that he might be enabled to accomplish enough in his lifetime to win him an enduring fame. And I do not think he will be easily forgotten . . . for he was always a unique and remarkable figure."³

Willis J. Abbot, editor of the *Times*, Harrison's paper, wrote in an editorial at the time of the Mayor's death: "The plaudits of the Chicagoans that fell upon a grateful ear—for he loved applause as every honest man who courts fame must—will turn to lamentation in the midst of a now general verdict that he was indeed pre-eminent among Chicago's magistrates. He yearned for the good opinion of his fellow-men, and their tributes will lie thick as autumnal leaves upon his bier."⁴

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1881-82), p. 3.

² *Chicago Times* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (October 30, 1893), p. 2.

⁴ *Chicago Times* (October 29, 1893), editorial.

XIV. SENSITIVENESS TO CRITICISM

If Harrison was inordinately fond of praise and applause, he was in equal proportions stung by criticism and rebuke. He realized that a certain type of criticism which overdid itself was of advantage to him, and often made some statement to the effect that he despised the newspaper calumnies upon which he grew fat.¹ Yet there is no dearth of evidence to prove that he smarted and chafed under the fattening process. His anger and resentment when criticized, especially when he felt that it was unjust (and he usually did), was not altogether on account of his personal feelings. He felt that his family was being wronged as well, and it is certainly true that his second wife, whom he married while in office, felt the attacks and their various insinuations most keenly.² He could not remain silent under criticism. He answered the press, the pulpit, and the public generally in his annual messages, in his inaugural addresses, and in his ordinary messages to the Council.³

His last campaign probably brought on the worst storm of criticism, and although a veteran in politics by this time, Mr. W. P. Rend says, "I know that he felt most deeply and painfully the atrocious manner in which certain newspapers of the town abused him."⁴ But then Harrison had his day when in his triumphant inaugural he said: "Fouly slandered and shamelessly abused by a reckless press, but sustained and honored by 115,000 of the free and independent voters of Chicago, . . . I stand before you again for the fifth time chosen to be mayor of Chicago."⁵

¹ *Chicago Daily News* (March 19, 1887), p. 1.

² Mr. Owsley, interview.

³ His inability to stand criticism is explained by his bad case of egotism, the subject of the next section.

⁴ *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 3.

⁵ *Council Proceedings* (1893-94), p. 40.

The press attacked him no more. The World's Fair was on. The "Old Man," occupied happily with the affairs of the city and an affair of romance, rounded out his official career in a calm which afforded him grateful relief.

XV. EGOTISM

Were he of the present generation his egotism would often be the subject of comment on the part of those with the academic bent by some such negative statement as, "He is certainly not suffering from an inferiority complex," or, in the more expressive language of the street, "Doesn't he hate himself?" After his fourth nomination for the mayoralty of Chicago we find a hostile newspaper stating the case in an editorial as follows: "Four terms will make Harrison an autocrat, for his vanity and impertinence have increased with each new lease of office."¹

Victor Lawson held that "intense egotism was one of his most salient characteristics, and he never hesitated to tell the people he was the best Mayor Chicago ever had or ever would have."² He believed this firmly, and his adherents did too."³ This gentleman's paper once stated sarcastically that in spite of Harrison's overpowering modesty he had made himself pretty well acquainted in Chicago.⁴ On the subject of the Mayor's modesty the Democratic papers were no less stingy with their compliments, but they sometimes introduced compensating and mitigating facts.⁵ Alderman Powers, while admitting that Harrison had "unbounded confidence in himself," stated that "he was free from the arrogance that inferior men display in office; and while he per-

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 2, 1885), editorial.

² Chicagoans know that Mr. Harrison did not copyright this phrase, and that it has since been used by others.

³ Quoted in *Chicago Tribune* (October 30, 1893), p. 4.

⁴ *Chicago Daily News* (March 25, 1885), p. 1.

⁵ See, for instance, sec. VIII, this chapter.

mitted no hedge of formality or barrier of official sanctity to exist between him and the people, he always maintained the self-respect that characterizes a gentleman."¹

In an annual message he glorified his administration and himself, pronouncing every department "the best the world ever saw, . . . which will excite the wonder of historians until the last moment of recorded time," according to the *Tribune*.² While this is the colored statement of a hostile publication, it is true nevertheless that there is a frequent use of the personal pronoun in such messages and in most of his other messages. In his campaign speeches he sometimes told the reporters to take down everything he said, as he wanted the people to get it all.³ In one such speech he is accused of using "I," "me," "my," or "mine" 567 times.⁴ Although this number is probably used for its "magic qualities," it illustrates the fact that Harrison's speeches contained a great deal of Harrison.

Harrison made some attempt to curb this sounding of his own praise, but without marked success. He might make some such statement as this: "I take not to myself the credit for the city's almost phenomenal advancement during my administration of its affairs," and having made it, would proceed to tell how much he had had to do with it and severely castigate those who denied him full credit.⁵ Or he might say that the cheers he received as he arose to speak at a political meeting were not for him, but for his party, and then spend the time talking about what *he* had done.⁶ Whenever he divided the honors with others, his attitude seems to have been,

¹ *In Memoriam, Carter H. Harrison*, p. 76.

² *Chicago Tribune* (February 7, 1882), editorial.

³ *Chicago Times* (April 3, 1881), p. 3.

⁴ *Chicago Tribune* (April 1, 1883), p. 9.

⁵ *Council Proceedings* (1887-88), pp. 3 ff.

⁶ *Chicago Tribune* (April 1, 1883), p. 9.

"Three cheers for my colleagues; now let's say nothing more about them." The militarist who begins his speech with unctuous professions of being a man of peace and then proceeds with haste and vigor to make out a case for gigantic armaments is illustrative of Mr. Harrison's method of dividing praise.

Was not this intense egotism injurious to Mayor Harrison? In the opinion of the writer it did not hurt him in Chicago, though it was one of the defects which caused him to remain a local politician. No doubt it would have ruined him had it been his only strong characteristic, but we have seen that he was a man of ability, of integrity, of broad human sympathy, etc. Happily endowed with these traits, many people who deplored his superlative self-confidence and self-praise were quite willing to overlook it, knowing that behind it all was a real man. Furthermore, the best people are not often bored by a delightful braggart who has unquestionably arrived. If this be true, it is easy to see how the average man in Chicago in the eighties and nineties might have enjoyed hearing Carter Harrison speak his own eulogies. The papers held the popular hero up to ridicule for his vanity, but his supporters didn't care much for newspapers anyhow, and the antagonism of the press confirmed them in their opinion that Harrison was bigger than the press, and that the press was simply jealous.

Furthermore, we must note that his sublime egotism saved him some of the shocks the public man is heir to. Many snubs and slams passed completely over his head, while the most pointed criticisms he regarded as the products of the veriest malice, albeit, as we have seen, he bitterly resented them. In his speech accepting the second nomination for the mayoralty he naïvely stated that he "had been told to cut it short."¹ Summing up the accomplishments of his

¹ *Chicago Times* (April 3, 1881), p. 3.

eight years at the City Hall, he told his audience how he had elevated the police department and invented the patrol wagon system. In each instance the audience laughed rather unkindly, for to the retiring Mayor was due some credit for these improvements. But Harrison was not outdone. In one instance he told his audience that he would not be laughed down, and in the other he took their laughter as an indication of approval.¹

XVI. DEFICIENT IN TACT

It is said that he was too quick, too impulsive, to be tactful. He might tell his staunch supporter, the boss gambler, not to stop his buggy in front of the Mayor's mansion; or he might tell a crude man that he didn't mind shaking hands with him, but that he was not to blow his breath in his face the next time.² On one occasion he refused to see a very serious group of divines who called on him about some question relating to the good morals of the community.³ When Mr. Field told him that Field and his wealthy fellow-callers represented great interests in Chicago, Mr. Harrison promptly replied that the humblest citizen of Chicago had interests just as great.⁴ Grant touched Chicago on a triumphal tour, and the Mayor publicly advised him not to run for the presidency the third time.⁵ No, Mr. Harrison was not tactful. He was not tactful by nature, and he probably thought he had other means of getting results which were more effective. Take the illustrations mentioned: The gambler and the workingman knew exactly what he meant, and probably neither of them was offended, though those who heard the

¹ *Ibid.* (April 19, 1887), p. 1.

² Mr. and Mrs. Owsley, interview.

³ Rev. John P. Brushingham, interview.

⁴ *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 22.

⁵ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

Mayor give them their orders might have been slightly shocked. The preachers are easily disposed of—What was to be gained by talking to them? Stalwart Republicanism was a part of the religion of most of them. As to his declaration to Mr. Field, that would be good campaign material any time; while his advice to Grant made the Mayor of Chicago the talk of the nation. Harrison was not tactful, but he knew what he was about.

XVII. LACK OF PATIENCE; "TEMPER"

In patience Harrison was no rival for the man whose sufferings are recorded in Holy Writ, and for very much the same reasons as we ascribed for his lack of the quality of tactfulness. He had too much temper to be patient.¹ A member of his family stated somewhat humorously that during the Civil War the victories and disasters of the southern armies were accurately registered by sweets and spankings, respectively, for his children. A kind and loving father, he nevertheless frequently lost his patience with those of his own household, though the reader need not be reminded that such feeling was of a temporary character.²

The same thing is true when we take him in his relation to his political associates. He would get excited and irritable when matters were not progressing smoothly. The day before the municipal election in 1883 he held a meeting of the Democrats who were in the city's employ. The Mayor was out of sorts because so many things had been left for the last minute. When the crowd applauded some of his remarks he told them to keep still, that he was making no stump speech, but talking business. The secretary started to call the roll

¹ The second Mayor Harrison states that his father was quick tempered, but that his stern demeanor, when in earnest, was often taken for anger by those who did not know him well.

² Mr. and Mrs. Owsley, interview.

from which challengers were to be chosen, but the Mayor shortly took it from him, and without ceremony. As difficulty attended the selection of the challengers, the chief dropped a number of ill-natured remarks.¹

Harrison was ten times before the people as a candidate for important office. Yet he never arrived at the point where he could take the campaign calmly and as an incident in the life of a politician. Sometimes a pallor marked his features, and he confessed that he shared with other candidates a feeling of anxiety at election time.² On the occasion of a defeat he was not in the best of humor, although he became philosophical after the noise of the campaign had subsided.³

When it came to administrative matters, where the elements of stress and excitement were usually absent, Harrison showed no lack of patience. In looking after his duties as mayor no detail seemed too small to escape him or small enough to annoy him.⁴ Concluding, in politics he would easily lose his patience when under trying circumstances; in administration, where he could work quietly and alone, he was calm and collected.

XVIII. ABILITY TO CO-OPERATE

Despite the deficiencies pointed out in the last few pages Harrison possessed the essential qualities for co-operating with his associates in the conduct of the city's business. The best illustrations of Mr. Harrison's ability to work in harmony with others are to be found in connection with his dealings with his council. This topic is developed fully in the chapter on legislative leadership. On the administrative side the question of co-operation was a unilateral matter, the

¹ *Chicago Daily News* (April 3, 1883), p. 1.

² *Inter-Ocean* (April 5, 1893), pp. 1, 2.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (April 8, 1891), p. 1; Mrs. Owsley, interview.

⁴ See chap. xiv, sec. II.

Mayor's idea being that he was the absolute head of administration, and that the co-operation should be on the side of his subordinates. This desirable harmony the Mayor secured to a marked degree, and without the use of continuous strong-arm methods. One manifestation of what the insubordinate official might expect was sufficient. This came in the summary removal of the fire marshal about three months after Harrison became mayor.¹ After this everybody knew that Harrison was mayor. Further than this, confidence in the Mayor's ability and integrity inspired loyalty on the part of his assistants. His success in securing able and willing lieutenants is attested to by the fact that there were few changes in the important offices while he was mayor, and by the fact that his officials were almost never criticized.

In politics Harrison was apparently too much for himself to be a good co-operator. We take one illustration: When he failed to get the mayoralty nomination in 1891 he bolted and defeated the regular Democratic nominee, a man who was serving out his first term as mayor and who was by no means the worst mayor Chicago had had.² It is but fair to Harrison to state that he was not treated fairly by the organization at that time, but the treatment was hardly bad enough to justify a bolt on the part of a man who had already received so many favors from that group.

He was always stronger with the people than he was with the party organization; especially is this true in comparison with his strength in the national party organization. We have seen that he was not in accord with his party on the tariff question, and it is no doubt true that his bimetalism was not acceptable to some of those who might tolerate his tariff dissension. So it fell out that Harrison, being not altogether regular in his political tenets, giving administrations

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1879-80), pp. 98 ff.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff.

that many substantial Republicans found it advisable to indorse, and holding ideas on personal liberty which were quite acceptable to radicals, always relied upon elements outside his own party for support. Although he talked a great deal about being a Democrat, we cannot place him as a strict party man. His appeals in Chicago were broader than his party, and in local matters he stood above his party both on account of his breadth of appeal and his personal qualities. To be sure, he used the party for all it was worth, and he is accused, with some justification, of placing his services to it second to his uses of it.¹

XIX. CAPACITY FOR ORGANIZATION

Closely allied with the trait last discussed is the capacity for organization, which Mr. Harrison displayed to a point not often excelled in municipal politics. Here again we take for illustration the bolt campaign of 1891. Not leaving out of consideration his picturesque qualities and the prestige he had attained by eight years of service as the city's chief, we account primarily for his remarkable strength as an independent candidate by pointing to the skill he displayed as an organizer for that campaign. For his support he enlisted all the disappointed office-seekers, the Personal Rights League, and various other groups, with organizations extending to almost every ward and precinct. The result was that on election day he just missed by a few thousand votes being elected as an independent candidate.²

SUMMARY

A Kentucky gentleman in municipal politics, Carter Harrison was a unique and interesting figure. As a gentleman he

¹ *Inter-Ocean* (April 4, 1893), p. 2, letter to editor.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 ff. This point will be discussed much more fully in the chapter on election campaigns.

had the respect of his own class and received something akin to homage from the other classes. His bubbling geniality and his contagious optimism made him a delightful companion, and when we add to these his running fire of humor he was a favorite in the drawing-room and a power on the platform. His sense of fair play was substantially demonstrated, and when he was treated unfairly many citizens rallied to his support because he was being denied what he accorded to others. There were many instances of his goodness of heart and liberality, these in turn strengthening him with the masses. In discharging the duties of his office Harrison had a well-merited reputation for integrity, while in his political activities expediency was often his guiding principle. His social insight enabled him to keep in touch with the desires and aspirations of the masses, and his skill in estimating individuals protected him from treachery and the city from incompetent officials. Almost entirely without any sort of fear, he was able to face angry mobs, quiet them, and win their respect and the applause of more orderly citizens. His ability to create and utilize dramatic situations kept him ever in the public eye, as did the many pageants in which he was given a leading part. The plaudits of his fellow-citizens were music to his ears: one of the chief reasons why he loved the public life. He was an organizer of the first order, and he had the ability, although not always the inclination, to co-operate, sometimes considering his personal advantage above that of his party.

His egotism bordered on the sublime, but while it made him very sensitive to criticism and brought on the ridicule of the press, it did not injure him with those groups of the electorate from which he drew his support. He had very little tact, but his deficiency here was partly offset by the advertising his not-too-tactless actions gave him. Finally, he had little patience when he was under stress or strain, which

handicap was somewhat mitigated by the fact that his good humor never left him for long.

Of forty physical characteristics and mental and temperamental traits discussed in these three chapters we indicate good health, resourcefulness, courage, and dramatic qualities as the leaders. Here we leave the subject of traits for the present. After the material on technique has been presented, the two will be taken together for final analysis.

PART III
TECHNIQUE

CHAPTER IX

SECURING NOMINATIONS

In the preceding chapters the specific traits of leadership have been analyzed; in the chapters to follow, our attention is to be turned to the subject of technique. The separation of the two is a convenient method of treatment, but somewhat artificial; for how can we study Harrison's fights with the ministers and the newspapers without learning something more of his temperament, and how can we consider his independent campaign for the mayoralty without getting new light on his boldness and courage? When we consider his use of oratory, his dramatic qualities again present themselves, and examples of his resourcefulness are found at almost every turn. Further illustrations of this combination might be given, but these are sufficient to bring out the point the writer has in mind, which is that the study of leadership is primarily the study of traits, and that the part devoted to technique deals in a large measure with combined traits in action.

Bearing this point in mind, we are now ready to learn how he secured nominations and won elections, to ascertain his means of attracting and holding a following, and to see who his enemies were and how he combated them and used them. Finally, his use of his office as a means of increasing his political strength engages our attention. This chapter, dealing with nominations, need not detain us long, for Harrison seldom experienced difficulty in winning a candidature.

I. CITIZEN AND GREELEYITE

Harrison was first nominated for office on the nonpartisan "fire-proof" ticket as a candidate for county commissioner. This was a business man's ticket, and Harrison, as a bus-

iness man and interested in the city's recovery from the conflagration of 1871, was placed on this ticket, which was headed by Joseph Medill, the choice of the best element for mayor. It does not appear that he sought the place he was accorded; he preferred the place which was given Medill; but he was silent on the subject at the time, and influenced Medill to accept the nomination.¹

Having shown himself a good campaigner and a worthy public servant, he was named by the "Greeleyites" as their candidate for Congress in 1872, a nomination for which he was apparently not solicitous, and which ended in defeat at the election. But having fought a good fight in that campaign, and having continued his efficient service as a county commissioner, he was the logical candidate for Congress in 1874. Successful in the campaign which followed, and again in the succeeding campaign, he made a name for himself in Congress by his humor and flag-waving, by his more substantial services of proposing a six-year term for the president, by his rather spectacular prevention of a "white-wash" of a fellow-Democrat and by his devotion to the local interest by advocating the improvement of internal waterways.²

II. FOUR MAYORALTY NOMINATIONS

Declining to be a candidate for Congress in 1878, he returned to Chicago when his Congress adjourned the following March. He was given a "spontaneous" reception which had been very carefully planned in advance, the band having been arranged for and the refreshments having been purchased and delivered. All this had been engineered by his business partner, Harvey T. Welks, and local politicians. Carlie Cameron welcomed Harrison back to his native Chicago and said that he had been a real representative of the

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3. See also chap. v, sec. I.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, chaps. iv and v.

people, a true American, etc. Harrison expressed his thanks, said he had done his best, that he would not be a candidate for any office in the future. All of this was given due publicity, and the newspapers had considerable fun over it.¹

Although Harrison was "surprised" to find that he was being talked of for Mayor when he arrived in Chicago there is every probability that his backers had been in communication with him while he was in Washington, and it is hardly less probable that he gave them his encouragement and advice. They were clever, Harrison and his backers. The Greenback party was scheduled to hold its convention before either the Democrats or Republicans held theirs, and it was rumored about that the Harrison Democrats were using their influence to get them to nominate Harrison, even going so far as to promise them a place on the Democratic ticket in case they should nominate him.² Thus everybody would win.

The Greenback party did nominate Harrison, but he neither accepted nor rejected their nomination. Not only that, but he left the city, ostensibly to visit in Kentucky, but probably to avoid the embarrassment of not answering the Greenback organization.³

In the meantime Harrison's men were bestirring themselves. The Democratic convention was to be composed of sixty-eight delegates. Thirty-five of these were to be chosen from the West Side (Harrison's side of the city) wards. Mr. Weeks and his helpers worked in those wards until they felt that they had practically every Harrison delegate assured of election, which would give their candidate a majority in the convention. Then they turned in confidence to the other wards.⁴ The supporters of Harrison also saw to it that as

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (March 7, 1879), p. 7.

² *Chicago Times* (March 6, 1879), p. 10.

³ *Ibid.* (March 13, 1879), p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*

many as possible of the judges appointed for the primary elections would be favorable to him, some of the Harrison men in the conference which selected the judges even going so far as to represent themselves as being in favor of another nominee in order to secure more judges of Harrison sympathies.¹ Harrison's workers were assisted by the fact that there was not any considerable opposition to Harrison in the Democratic ranks, and by the fact that several other Democrats who had been sounded out on the question of a nomination had refused to be considered, although Murray F. Tuley and George L. Dunlap, both high-class men, did enter the race.²

The primaries were held, and in the convention which followed Harrison received thirty-eight of the sixty-eight votes on the first ballot. A few days later he returned from Kentucky, accepted the nomination which he said he had not desired, and told the second untruth when he said he was no politician, and that if they wanted him for Mayor they would have to see to it that he was elected.³ Harrison was fortunate in his leading opponent, A. M. Wright, a Republican, for in the language of the *Times*, "Wright is best known where he is least liked, and the reason is said to be that he is extraordinarily selfish, exacting where leniency ought to be shown, and hoggish where others would be liberal."⁴ In this campaign Harrison was elected by a plurality of 5,189 votes.

Harrison was not put in by a boss or a machine. The Democratic party seems to have had no particular organization that year, although the group which backed Harrison might be styled as an organization. After this time there was a city Democratic organization in every sense of that word, and the head of it was Mayor Harrison—a real case of responsible government. In the next eight years we hear very

¹ *Ibid.* (March 12, 1879), p. 10.

² *Ibid.* (March 6, 1879), p. 10; Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

³ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 95.

⁴ *Chicago Times* (March 13, 1879), p. 10.

little about campaign managers or any other party officials except Mayor Harrison, although a careful reading of the newspapers will reveal the names of Thomas E. Courtney, Francis Hoffman, Jr., R. B. Stone, E. S. Dreyer, Washington Hesing, Joe Mackin, Mike McDonald and a few others as being of some importance in party councils. After Harrison had lost the vantage point of office and had aged somewhat, he relied considerably upon Adolf Kraus and Austin Doyle in his fight to return to power.¹

Once installed at the City Hall, there was no difficulty in getting nominations as regularly as the term of office expired. He was in a position to control the party machinery through his power to dispense offices, grant favors, etc.; but it was not necessary for Harrison to force himself upon his party by methods which his position enabled him to employ, as his success as an administrator and a campaigner made him the only candidate his party could seriously consider for several successive elections. Consequently we find him greeted at a convention with a "guttural, copper-distilled howl of joy" and a shout, "Let the eagle loose," nominated without opposition, and "amid a perfect hurricane of applause and cheers."² The fourth nomination seems to have come about as easy as the others, although the opposition alleged that there was confusion in the Democratic ranks. This charge is not worthy of any particular consideration, for the same article maintains that all is harmony among the Republicans, and then, in another column on the same page, states that Mr. Rawleigh has resigned from the Republican campaign committee and calls him a chronic kicker, bolter, and disorganizer.³ It does appear, however, that the rougher element

¹ *Ibid.* (March 29, 1881), p. 6; *Chicago Tribune* (March 29, 1883), p. 2; (March 31, 1883), p. 3; (March 28, 1885), p. 10; (April 4, 1891), p. 9.

² *Inter-Ocean* (March 28, 1881), p. 8; *Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (March 20, 1885), p. 2.

of the Democratic party was too strenuous in its efforts in Harrison's behalf, and that this group had too much to do with his fourth nomination;¹ the result being that while he was easily nominated as "every man's candidate for mayor," he was with difficulty elected.

At this time there was a great deal of talk of a Harrison machine or party "which retains the Democratic label for purposes of convenience and deception."² That Harrison ran his own machine is attested to by the *Daily News*, a newspaper which stood for clean government and which was at this time rapidly winning the esteem of good Chicagoans. In deploring the Republicans' choice for a mayoralty candidate in 1887 it said: "The citizens of Chicago are asked to fly from evils they know and have long borne to evils that they know not and which might prove unbearable. They are asked to exchange a demagogue mayor who ran his own machine for a machine that runs a political unknown for mayor."³

III. FLIRTING WITH THE FIFTH

In the pre-convention period which preceded his fifth nomination for the mayoralty Harrison constantly told his followers that he would not accept a nomination and that they should not use his name in that connection, even going to the trouble of writing an open letter to that effect. The opposition papers all along said that he intended to run regardless of his protestations to the contrary, and sure enough, as the time for the convention approached, Harrison showed signs of weakening, stating that he might run if a sufficient number of Republicans requested him to remain in power. The convention made the expected nomination, which he refused, but not for long. Overcome by the importunities of his friends and moved by the loyal spirit of the delegates, he

¹ *Ibid.* (March 28, 1885), p. 4.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Daily News* (March 21, 1887), editorial.

did the expected and accepted. A very clever cartoon represents him jerking the string which was attached to the letter in which he avowed he would not be a candidate.¹ Yet in the light of his first refusal when nominated, and considering his early resignation as the party's candidate, it seems not improbable that, whatever his intentions may have been prior to the convention, he did not want the nomination when the convention assembled. Had he made the race he would have been defeated in all probability;² for retiring from it he was praised for his good sense, ridiculed for his vacillation, cursed for his treachery. The one thing upon which all agreed at the moment, including Harrison, the "flirt," was that his political career was ended, that his mayoralty sun had set, and that under a cloud, and that he could expect nothing further from his party.³

IV. BOLTER

A little more than two years later Harrison was again talked of for Mayor. Mr. Cregier, a Democrat, who had been an efficient member of Harrison's official household, but who had been partly responsible for the trouble when Harrison had temporarily retired from politics, was nominated for mayor in 1889. The "ex-best," as Harrison was frequently styled by the press at this time, refused to support him, and the candidate offered his resignation, not wishing to attempt a race without his aid. Adolf Kraus prevailed upon Harrison to attend a meeting and make a speech for Cregier, whose election followed, but whose gratitude was expressed to Mr. Kraus by his rejection of all the names that staunch Harrison backer submitted to the Mayor for favorable consideration

¹ *Ibid.* (March 24, 1887), p. 2.

² For the reason that the national Democratic administration was unfriendly, and because he had alienated a number of substantial citizens who felt that he was too lenient with the anarchists and too friendly with the socialistic elements.

³ Any Chicago paper of March 26, 1887.

in filling the offices. Kraus immediately set about to have Harrison for the next mayor, and in less than sixty days there was a "Carter H. Harrison for Mayor in 1891" club, which was shortly a thriving organization with units in every ward.¹ Cregier was not a conspicuous success nor yet a colossal failure as mayor, but as the time for the expiration of his term approached it was manifest that many people in Chicago, including substantial citizens who were ever willing to support Harrison, were ready to honor the Kentuckian for the fifth time.

It was equally clear that Cregier was determined to succeed himself, and in attempting to bring about this end he used every means at the disposal of a city's chief executive. He lined up the officeholders on his side, and the primary election judges were carefully appointed. The result was that the people voted for Harrison, but the Cregier delegates were "elected" to the Democratic convention.² In one precinct in which the votes were in the majority for the Harrison delegates, a mistake had been made about one of the judges. He was a Harrison man and a former prize-fighter who was still able to function in that capacity. The other judges wanted to file a Cregier return, but the fistic champion made it known that he was prepared to defend the integrity of the ballot with the arts of his old profession, whereupon the unjust judges decided to make the correct return, and Harrison's campaign manager was declared elected from this precinct.³

In the convention which followed the primary there were contested delegations, but they were all decided against Harrison's supporters by officers and committees of the conven-

¹ Kraus, *Reminiscences and Comments*, pp. 58, 59.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 58 ff.; Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff.

³ Kraus, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 60. Mr. Kraus states that in a precinct in Harrison's own ward (the eleventh) the judges in the primaries sat behind closed doors and the voter pushed his ballot, to an uncertain fate, through a hole in the wall. *Reminiscences*, p. 59.

tion who favored the Cregier faction. Mr. Kraus, manager for Mr. Harrison, was fully prepared for this contingency; for no sooner was it known that all the contested seats would be given to Cregier men than Kraus led the Harrison supporters from Turner Hall. A band, previously engaged, was waiting without, and the bolters marched to Uhlich hall, already arranged for, in true Chicago style. This group, composed of the few Harrison delegates who had been duly accredited to the regular Democratic convention at Turner Hall and of Harrison followers who had unsuccessful contested seats in that convention, speedily organized and nominated Carter H. Harrison for mayor, definitely alleging him to be the *regular* Democratic candidate for that office.¹

So popular was Harrison's candidacy, despite the fact that no such bolter or third man had ever been elected, that there was a great rush and wrangle among the smaller fry to get on his ticket as aldermanic candidates. All of this was encouraging to the head of the ticket, who, one noon, as he observed the fighting mob making more noise than usual around the ward signs at headquarters, calmly remarked: "That's right, boys, fight hard, you know the more the cats squeal at night the more kittens there are later." The implication being, of course, that the more interest in the aldermanic row, the more votes would be polled on election day.² He lost this election, however, as we have seen, by 4,028 votes.³

V. NOMINATED FOR WORLD'S FAIR MAYOR

Although failing of election in 1891, his popularity increased, and his admitted fitness for the office of mayor for the Fair period made him the most-talked-of possibility for that office. He frankly admitted his ambition to hold the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

² Mr. Bernard McMahon, letter to the writer.

³ See chap. v, sec. VI.

municipal helm at that time, and every effort was made to procure the nomination. The primaries went off more smoothly than formerly, the results of which pointed to Harrison as the choice of the convention. When the convention assembled, the alert Mr. Kraus heard that the leader of a certain ward delegation was about to sell Harrison out.¹ Seeking out the man, Kraus casually observed to him that he had word that some of the delegates were going to play traitors, and that there was a movement on foot to tar and feather them if they did. The effect of this hint was altogether salutary.²

While the convention was in progress Mr. Harrison sat behind the scenes, where Mr. Kraus reported to him from time to time. The venerable candidate intimated that he should like to retire to the office of a friend and rest, but his manager dissuaded him with the suggestion that he was likely to be needed at any time. No sooner had he done so than the two other aspirants for the nomination, Cregier and Hesing, marched to the platform arm-in-arm and were greeted with tumultuous applause. It seemed that an effort was being made to stampede the convention for one or the other of them, probably for Hesing, who was the stronger of the two. As the tumult continued, Kraus advised Harrison to take a place on the platform with the others. The effect was electrical; what had been tumult turned into pandemonium.³ "After several hours, during which the wildest confusion reigned in the convention and matters were obstructed to such a degree that no business could be done, Mr. Hesing withdrew his name and Mr. Harrison was made the unanimous choice of the assembly."⁴

¹ In 1889, when Kraus was managing Mr. King's campaign for the Democratic nomination, the chairman of a ward delegation approached Kraus and offered to deliver the votes of his delegation for \$1,500. Mr. Kraus refused, and the delegation cast its votes for Cregier, who secured the nomination. Kraus, *Reminiscences*, p. 57.

² Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 64. ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

VI. THE GUBERNATORIAL NOMINATION AND
ASPIRATIONS FOR THE SENATE

We turn back now to 1884, when Harrison was more popular in politics than he was to be again until 1893. This was a presidential year, and a governor of Illinois was to be elected. Harrison's repeated and increasing successes at the polls during five successive campaigns made him the logical candidate to head the state ticket for the Democrats. There was not much chance of success, for Illinois had not elected a Democratic governor since the war, and the last Republican had been elected by a plurality of 38,000. Of course, Harrison wanted to be governor, but he was not the kind who cared to run for the sake of the run. More within the realm of possibility was an election to the United States Senate, which a defeated Democratic candidate for governor might secure, it being almost the invariable rule for the Democratic legislative caucus to select the party's chief standard-bearer in the state for its candidate, and the combinations in the legislature being such that he might reasonably hope for election. Probably as desirous of being senator as governor, Harrison consented to accept the gubernatorial candidacy. The crowd which had control of the nomination was a free-trade group, and Harrison was not a free-trader. The platform as originally drafted predicted salvation in free-trade, going to such lengths that Harrison was sure his enemies had the platform constructed so as to make it impossible for him to accept a nomination. But if this was their purpose, they were destined to be defeated, for Harrison carried the fight to the convention floor and succeeded in getting it modified more in conformity to his own ideas, though not without considerable ill-feeling resulting—an ill-feeling which was possibly sufficiently strong to account for Harrison's defeat by 14,599 votes in the election. It was charged by his enemies in the party that he had nominated himself,¹ and when we consider

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 180 ff.

the dissimilarity between the tentative platform and the principles of the candidate, and that candidate's success in having the platform reshaped in conformity to his own views, we must admit that there was force in the charge of the opposing faction.

Due to his stand on the tariff, and to some extent to his jealous fellow-Democrats, Harrison was not made the Democratic candidate for the senate by the legislative caucus.¹ Harrison had done much in his campaign to strengthen the Democrats "down state," and the legislature was equally divided between Democrats and Republicans. The senatorial election fight lasted three months, and was finally ended by the death of a Democrat whose place was filled in the state legislature by the election of a Republican. A United States Senator of that faith was of course immediately chosen.² At the time of Harrison's death he still had his eye on the Senate, an active movement having been gotten under way for him.³

SUMMARY

Harrison's first important nomination came to him as a citizen interested in the reconstruction of Chicago after the first great fire. His second, being for Congress in a district normally Republican, was a doubtful reward for a previous campaign well conducted and for public services satisfactorily performed. Failing of election in this campaign, he accepted a second nomination two years later, still a doubtful honor, but to the surprise of most political observers he was elected. He was now a recognized campaigner, and his third nomination came as a matter of course. He refused the fourth nomination, having other things in view.

¹ Three German Republicans, members of the legislature, stood ready to vote for Harrison in the event of his nomination by the Democrats. Carter H. Harrison II, interview.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 190.

³ Mr. McMahon, letter to writer.

Before his term in Congress expired he was working very quietly, and with the help of his friends in Chicago, for the mayoralty nomination. The clever manipulations and persistent activities of his friends, his own adroitness, as illustrated by his absence from the city and his dalliance with the Greenback group, and the reluctance of other Democrats to enter the field, all combined to bring about his nomination. Once in office, his political acumen and administrative competence made the nomination of any other candidate almost out of the question. But after two years in private life it was necessary for him and his friends to perfect an organization which reached into every precinct of the city in order to bring about his return to power. This organization could not overcome the City Hall group which had control of the party machinery in 1891, but it was successful in 1893, when the Republicans were in power, thus giving the Democratic candidates an even chance for the nomination. His nomination for governor came because he was the most outstanding Democratic politician and campaigner in Illinois at the time. He failed to win the nomination to the United States Senate because he fought the free-traders who were powerful in his party and because of his otherwise independent conduct.

CHAPTER X

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS; ISSUES AND TACTICS

The purpose of this chapter is to present the important issues of Harrison's campaigns, give some consideration to campaign devices, and note especially his chief medium of appeal, oratory. In the next chapter our attention will be concentrated on his method of appeal to various groups, while a third chapter will deal with his use of his political enemies.

I. ISSUES; RECORD VS. REFORM

After his first campaign for the mayoralty, Harrison's chief appeal was on his record of efficiency and economy in administration. He examined his conduct of public affairs before his audiences, pronounced his record good in every part,¹ and hotly answered his critics, whose complaints, he alleged, "emanated from ignorant, bigoted and narrow-minded partisans who know no more of what they speak than Balaam's ass of Hebrew."² His opponents sometimes argued rather lamely that his good administration was due to the fact that he was following the policies of his predecessor in office, the Republican Mayor Heath.³ After some years of the Democratic régime, obviously, this argument grew very weak and stale indeed.

Constructive proposal was not the Republicans' long suit, as indeed it usually is not for the party out of power. Madened by successive Democratic triumphs in their city which contained so many Republican leaders, they ever implored

¹ This record we are to examine in the chapter on administrative leadership.

² *Council Proceedings* (1882-83), p. 376.

³ *Inter-Ocean* (March 30, 1881), p. 6.

Chicagoans to recognize the imperative necessity of having done with Harrison. Their talk was almost constantly of reform, their claim being that under Harrison's rule vice and crime walked the streets arm-in-arm in open defiance of law. After four years of Harrison, the *Tribune*, indefatigable in its efforts to "save" the city, resorted to touching appeals: "Let every wife remind her husband of his duty. Let every mother urge her son to vote. Let every maiden impress it upon her lover that she will hold him in higher esteem when he has performed the duty of a good citizen."¹ The handsome majority accorded the Democrat in that particular election would seem to indicate that the gentle ladies held up the dashing cavalier as their ideal and influenced their men folk to sustain him.

In 1885 the cry for reform was still louder. General Logan, but recently chosen United States Senator for Illinois, took the stump and asked his hearers if they wanted Chicago to be known to the world as a Gomorrah;² while a minister charged the Mayor with responsibility for thirty thousand prostitutes having free run of the city.³ In this campaign Judge Smith, the Republican candidate, whose name would not be less respected by posterity had he not turned aside from his judicial duties, made himself ridiculous by saying that unless they could get Harrison out this time, a city revolution would probably be necessary to drive the vandals from the City Hall.⁴ For their heavy artillery in this particular battle the opposition took the case of Joe Mackin, a Democrat, but not a strong Harrison man. Joe had recently been convicted, along with a Republican, for perpetrating election frauds in the presidential election of 1884. This

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 3, 1883), editorial.

² *Inter-Ocean* (April 5, 1885), p. 6.

³ Mrs. Owsley, interview.

⁴ *Inter-Ocean* (April 1, 1885), p. 8.

crime was constantly held up as sufficient to condemn all Democrats.¹

We now consider the nature of Harrison's reply to these attacks. Speaking of the Republican financial committee and reformers in accepting the mayoralty nomination in 1883 he said:

. . . . These \$35,000,000 folks are reformers, all honorable gentlemen; let us see who they are. [Laughter.] Marshall Field, George M. Pullman, Henry W. King, and many others among them. These honest reformers never tell a lie. J. W. Doane, he is honest. Let me read you what J. W. Doane wrote me this morning: ". . . . I assure you that the use of my name on the committee as mentioned was without my knowledge or consent, and that I have declined to act on the republican union committee." I knew Mr. Doane was for me. [Laughter and applause.] And yet these men who published Doane as one of their committee are all honorable men and reformers. [Laughter.] They had it that Mr. Copeland was with them. He did for a little while go with them. He was a high license man; but he quit them; and he was interviewed, and the *Chicago Tribune*, that backs this honorable committee, published a long interview with him, which was a tissue of falsehoods. Mr. Copeland wrote to the *Tribune* and said: "The interview in your paper as published is an absolute falsehood." The next morning the *Tribune* published it: "The interview as published in your paper is *incorrect*." [Laughter.] . . . Yet the *Tribune* is an honorable paper, and mixes with honorable reformers. . . . ²

The movement for reform and the charge of election frauds and the necessity of guarding against them in an approaching election, led Republicans and "citizens" to appoint committees of safety. The Harrison crowd countered with the following, a letter which was sent out from headquarters and addressed to reliable Democrats:

Believing that, at the approaching city election, it is contemplated by the managers of the republican campaign to organize a band of repeaters, under the cry of "reform," in the different republican and other wards, it is necessary that the friends of the democratic ticket should de-

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (March 28, 1885), p. 4; *Chicago Daily News* (April 3, 1885), editorial.

² *Chicago Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1.

vote the day at the polls, watching each suspicious and unknown voter, keeping a list of the same, and at the same time act as ticket-peddlers in the respective precincts in which they reside.¹

As Harrison said, he did not believe much in defense; he was all for "carrying the war into Africa." Even in the case of Joe Mackin his defense was about complete when he had had the Democratic city convention pass a resolution roundly denouncing ballot-box stuffers and when he had styled the luckless Joe his "bitter enemy."² Then he launches his attack. He says that Joe was only imitating the methods followed by the Republicans in Louisiana, where the presidential electors of that party won by fraud, and that Joe had every reason to think that such an act was quite proper since the Republican administration had given positions to Wells and others who had by corrupt means secured the election in Louisiana. He charged further that the *Tribune*, the *Inter-Ocean*, and the *Journal*, newspapers which were making the most out of Joe's crime, had not complained when he (Harrison) was about to be cheated out of an election to Congress in 1874; but now that both Democrats and Republicans had been found guilty of election frauds these news organs insisted that the *Democrats* should be driven out.³

Harrison's main line of defense, as we have already stated, was in his constant presentation of his record. Still speaking of the Joe Mackin incident he said: "If we tell our opponents that six years ago I found Chicago wallowing in the very quagmire of financial distress, and that the Democratic administration has lifted it up until its credit now is second to none on earth, they will say, 'Yes, that is true, but Joe Mack-

¹ *Ibid.* (April 6, 1885), p. 1.

² Joe's ballot-box stuffing was in the interest of Rudolph Brand, candidate for state senator, a candidate who belonged to the anti-Harrison faction of the Democratic party. Carter H. Harrison II, interview.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (March 25, 1885), pp. 2, 3.

in stuffed the ballot-box.' ” And so he goes on listing one accomplishment after another, and in each case he gives the Republican refrain: “Yes, that is true, but Joe Mackin stuffed the ballot-box,” and is well pleased to receive from an approving audience roars of laughter and thunderous applause.¹ In this same campaign the Democratic *Times* came to his aid in a dignified editorial in which it charged the opposition with wasting its efforts on the Mackin case because it could not meet Harrison on his main appeal, which was six years of honesty and economy in city government.²

In every campaign except the first the voter had to choose between Harrison's record and the not altogether sincere plea of the Republicans for reform. There were no other issues of importance. In order to vary the monotony the Republicans sometimes left off the talk about reform and turned to ridiculing Harrison for his vanity. In the campaign of 1883 the question of a higher liquor license came very near being an issue, but that was not a problem which concerned the city of Chicago alone, and it was furthermore overshadowed by the general talk of reform.

II. CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

1. SEEKING NATIONAL AID

When Harrison ran for Congress his appeal was chiefly that the great Republican majority had failed.³ When he ran for mayor the first time he stuck pretty close to municipal problems, promising economy in administration, that city employees would be paid in cash, etc., while the Republicans kept talking national issues, waving the bloody shirt, and arguing their general superiority of intelligence and capacity for government. They took the trouble to have Blaine and Conkling write letters to the effect that the Republicans

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

² *Chicago Times* (April 5, 1885), editorial.

³ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

should win in the municipal election in the interest of the national organization¹—at least one point upon which these rival Republican leaders could agree. In the next campaign Emory A. Storrs went so far as to admit that he had nothing against Harrison except that he was a Democrat and stood for a party which was nationally bad. He argued further that the city and national issues were inseparable and that the city could not afford to re-elect Harrison, the ambitious Democrat, as its mayor.² Some others still used for an argument the old blunderbuss about Democratic treachery during the Civil War.³

If the Republicans could speak of Democratic rottenness and treachery of fifteen or more years standing, Harrison could and did point out scandals in connection with Republican administration of more recent date;⁴ if the Republicans appealed for national aid in their local fight, Harrison attempted the same, though with less success. When he was campaigning for governor of Illinois in 1884 he attempted to make an arrangement with Cleveland, the party's candidate for the presidency. The *Daily News* quotes Harrison on his attempts and failure in winning Cleveland's whole-hearted support:

"I went to Buffalo after my nomination," Mr. Harrison observed, "and called on Mr. Cleveland. I told him that if he would promise me the appointments to three or four places worth \$2,500 or \$3,000 a year it would help me a great deal in my campaign. Mr. Cleveland gave me his word that I should have them. When I got back to Chicago I concluded it would be a good thing to have his promise in black and white. I wrote to Mr. Cleveland asking him to write me a letter agreeing, if elected, to allow me to name the men to fill three or four good places." Mr. Harrison had been growing crimson with wrath, and as he shouted "D——n me, if he ever answered my letter," he brought his fist down on his knee like a pile driver.⁵

¹ *Chicago Times* (April 2, 1879), p. 1.

² *Inter-Ocean* (March 30, 1881), p. 5.

³ *Ibid.* (March 31, 1881), p. 2.

⁴ *Chicago Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* (March 26, 1887), p. 2.

During the campaign mentioned a Republican newspaper charged Harrison's backers with attempting to trade Cleveland presidential votes for Harrison gubernatorial votes, thus bolstering up Harrison's chance in Illinois at the expense of the Democratic candidate for the presidency.¹ The Democratic standard-bearer for governor did run several thousand votes ahead of the national ticket, though Harrison's vigorous campaign and his personal prestige in Illinois may sufficiently account for his lead over Cleveland. At any rate, had Cleveland any suspicion of such a piece of trickery as the newspaper charged, it is easy to understand his lukewarmness for Harrison in the years immediately succeeding.

A few months after his unsuccessful trial for state office Harrison was again a candidate for the mayoralty. He decided to give Cleveland another chance to help him. In the candidate's own language: "I wrote Mr. Cleveland a little note asking him to telegraph me his congratulations."

"Which he did," interrupted a gentleman present.

"Not a d——n bit of it," answered Harrison.²

When Harrison bolted the city Democratic convention and ran independent in 1891 he was, of course, with the inconsistency we permit in a politician, very much opposed to the national Democratic organization coming to the aid of Cregier, the regular Democratic candidate. But having patched up his differences with Cleveland through that gentleman's overtures a year later, he gave him the support of his newspaper, the *Chicago Times*, in his third race for the White House, and he in turn accepted the friendship of the national organization when he was for the sixth time a candidate for the mayoralty in 1893.³

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (November 1, 1884), editorial.

² *Chicago Daily News* (March 26, 1887), p. 2.

³ *Chicago Record* (October 31, 1893), p. 3.

2. ILLUSIONS OF VICTORY

Both parties tried to stampede the voters by announcing sure prospects of victory for themselves and confusion and panic in the ranks of the enemy. This is more noticeable in the case of the Republicans on account of their wider newspaper support. Some of their headlines run: "The Harrison Crowd Losing All Hope—Bleeding the Candidates." "Harrison a Frightened Man—His Abusive and Egotistic Speech at the So-Called Mass-Meeting." "Harrison, Driven to Desperation at the Prospect of Defeat, Breaks Out into Scurrilous Invective."¹ At one great Republican mass meeting, after Harrison had been flayed by one speaker after another, "the vast building shook with the shouts of thousands of freemen, which carried in their ringing tones the paean of victory."² Then there were announcements that the Irish Republican meetings were being well attended and that the Irish were rapidly parting company with Harrison. There was even talk of French Republican meetings, despite the fact that the voters of that nationality in Chicago were altogether insignificant in number. In order to show that nothing could stem the tide of victory, indorsements or "ratifications" of the Republican candidates were secured from scores of leading citizens who, presumably, could see no hope for Chicago as long as Harrison remained mayor.³

These illusions were almost entirely confined to the Republican side, and they did not disturb the equanimity of the Democratic candidate in the least. To the sort of propaganda we have just mentioned he replied: "I will get my Irish friends almost entirely. There is an Irish republican party in this city, a very heavy one. [Laughter.] Those silk-stockings that want their property protected, that stand on

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 1 and 2, 1883), pp. 9 and 2, respectively.

² *Inter-Ocean* (April 5, 1885), p. 6.

³ *Ibid.* (March 30, 1881), pp. 5, 6.

the rostrums and vote for a democratic mayor that takes care of their interests, and deny it the next day, will vote for me.”¹

3. WALKING THE TIGHT-ROPE

Harrison was able to straddle when it was necessary, being as good on the figurative steed of politics as he was on the back of his Kentucky mare. When the question of a higher saloon license was pressing in one campaign he said that he was not opposed to high license, having signed the ordinance raising it from \$52 to \$103; yet it was pointed out that the ordinance had become a law without his signature.² Certainly the low-license people were not misled by his talk, and his later reactions to a high-license bill gave positive proof that he was their man.³ He is accused of having promised the American Protective Association, an anti-Catholic society, his co-operation, and of having said the day before that he preferred the support of the gamblers and saloon-keepers to that of the Protestant churches. Furthermore, it was alleged that he attended services at several Catholic churches prior to the election.⁴ His evasions in regard to the tariff as a candidate for governor of Illinois furnish the best example of his following the policy of trimming and expediency, and we must give him the credit due for having stated boldly and openly at the state Democratic convention that the only way to win was to follow the non-committal policy on the tariff question.⁵

4. BOLD ASSERTION

Harrison was rather clever at making something out of nothing when the occasion seemed to demand it. When he had for an opponent Judge Smith, a poor politician but a

¹ *Chicago Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1.

² *Chicago Tribune* (April 3, 1883), editorial.

³ Grosser, *Chicago*, chap. iv, p. 12.

⁴ *Inter-Ocean* (March 28-29, 1893), p. 8.

⁵ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 185, 188.

man of the highest character, Mr. Harrison advanced boldly: "Let me tell you about Judge Smith. Judge Smith says I consort with gamblers; go back in imagination to a year and a half ago when a red-handed murderer stalked into a restaurant and lodged a bullet into the heart of a man who was sitting at a table. It was Judge Smith who turned this man, Jene Dunn, free. . . . When George Hankins and Kirk Dunn were brought up for gambling it was Judge Smith who declared the gambling acts unconstitutional."¹ The audience is given the impression that the Judge was responsible because a jury acquitted a murderer and because a legislature enacted an unconstitutional law.²

5. IN THE ENEMY'S GARB

Some tricks of Harrison and his crowd are worthy of notice. One of Harrison's men approached Mr. E. G. Keith, a prominent Republican and business man, and had him sign unwittingly a call for a Harrison business men's meeting. The lieutenant's procedure was as follows: "Mr. Keith, I understand that you are interested in the municipal reform movement, and I would like to have you sign this call for a meeting of business men at the auditorium Monday night." Mr. Keith explained: "I took the list . . . and without any hesitation added my signature, thinking, of course, that it was for an Allerton [the Republican candidate] meeting."³

On the eve of the election in which Harrison was chosen mayor of Chicago for the fifth time a paper went out from Democratic headquarters which resembled very much the style of paper the Republicans were using for their literature.

¹ *Chicago Daily News* (April 1, 1885), p. 1.

² Judge Smith might have turned this to his advantage, but this could not be expected of the man who said that if he were elected mayor he would not speak at every "dog-fight, Dutch picnic, and saloon-keepers' convention." *Chicago Tribune*, (March 30, 1885), p. 1.

³ *Inter-Ocean* (March 27, 1893), p. 1.

This circular inquired whether the voter was in favor of foreigners dictating the policies of the great city, whether he favored the German and other alien languages being taught in the public schools, whether he thought Chicago should be an American or a European city, etc. Harrison was held up as the candidate of the foreigner, and those who believed in the ascendancy of the non-natives and aliens were told to vote for him. This document was carefully distributed among the foreign-born population,¹ and no doubt served to stimulate them for Carter Harrison.

6. BLARE AND TRUMPETS

In dealing with campaign technique we must not overlook the use of brass bands, campaign songs, marching clubs, and slogans. We have already noted that when Harrison's delegates bolted the convention, a brass band was at hand to conduct them to the nearby hall where they nominated their candidate. At most of the important meetings a band was on hand, sometimes several of them. Take, for instance, a meeting during the campaign of 1885: "A German band outside the entrance drummed up trade in opposition to the Republican show in the adjoining armory." When the hall had been pretty well filled "a brass band burst into the armory, leading the uniformed Sixteenth Ward Club, and following came the various ward delegations of the Young Democracy." Of course the Republicans employed the same tactics, for General Logan was interrupted in his denunciation of Harrison by the entrance of the marching clubs, headed by a band of martial music, playing "Shouting the Battle-Cry of Freedom."²

These marching clubs often carried banners, those which headed the several marching units of Harrison's cohorts of 1891 being fairly typical. They ran: "Five Thousand Trav-

¹ *Ibid.* (April 2, 1893), p. 1.

² *Ibid.* (April 5, 1885), p. 6.

eling Men for Our Carter," "No Gang Rule, But Home Rule," "World's Fair Mayor, Carter H. Harrison", "Give Us Our Carter Again," etc.¹ Not unmindful of the part the small boys could play in such dramas, Harrison had them parade with torches for six nights, promising them what was left of the torches if they would do so. This from a characteristically communicative barber who became the proud possessor of a torch.

In addition to the bands, marchers, banners, and slogans we have occasional vocal music injected into the campaigns. The Imperial Quartet often assisted him in his campaigns, while the Republicans were encouraged and enlivened by the Burley Quartet, especially by its prediction of a Democratic victory through a popular number, "When the Pigs Begin to Fly."²

7. USE OF SYMBOLS

The two Harrison symbols were his hat and his horse. Their political significance is not likely to be overestimated, for he saw to it that they were kept before the public as much as possible. In the section on his appearance and dress it was pointed out that he was seldom seen without his black slouch hat. Carter Harrison without the familiar felt was hardly Carter Harrison at all. If he did by chance wear a different hat the fact was the subject of general comment and his departure from his regular practice gave him the very best of advertising. When the Princess Eulalia of Spain visited Chicago during the World's Fair, Mr. Harrison, in order to do the honors properly, wore a silk hat for the first time in forty years. When the Princess was due to arrive a great crowd had congregated at the station to witness the pageant. Soon the Mayor came up, riding in a fine carriage and wearing a handsome silk "topper," and the crowd went wild. It was

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 4, 1891), p. 1.

² *Inter-Ocean* (April 1, 1885), p. 8.

easy to discern that the cheers were for the hat as much as they were for the Mayor. The band was to have played "Hail to the Chief," but the drum major and the chief musician were seen to exchange remarks and smile; there was a quick shifting of music, and the band started a popular air which was all the rage, "Where Did You Get That Hat?" Jubilant pandemonium reigned, and no one entered more heartily into the fun than the Mayor himself.¹

No Chicagoan who knew Carter Harrison (and nearly all of them did know him) thought of him without at the same time thinking of a black felt hat tilted slightly to one side of the head of that genial gentleman. Even at this time, thirty-four years after his death, no old resident, when questioned about Chicago's World's Fair mayor, will long remain silent on the subject of his felt hat. This hat attained a national, even an international, reputation during the Fair. A very clever impersonator, in vaudeville at the White City, took off the great figures of the time. Carter Harrison was his closing number, for when the entertainer adjusted the black felt and tipped it a few times, and then shyly replaced it with the silk hat, he was sure of bowing his way off the stage amid roars of laughter and vigorous hand-clapping.²

The political value of his famous headgear is so obvious as hardly to call for comment. Harrison could be picked from among thousands at any time; with his hat he could be picked from tens of thousands. Quickly taking up the idea of his North Side hatter, Harrison called his headpiece the Administration hat. It was that, and much more. It was a perpetual campaign standard; a hat that was literally ever in the ring. It spoke for its owner at all times, and much louder than words. It sometimes rendered words unnecessary. In his later campaigns, when the candidate was worn and tired,

¹ Colonel Henry B. Chamberlin, interview.

² *Ibid.*

he would say a few words, holding his hat in his hand, and the hat, reminiscent of former triumphs, mute yet eloquent, captivated the throngs. If he should feel like speaking at some length, he would put the hat in a chair, in full view of the audience. To have put it out of sight of his hearers would have been a campaign blunder of the first magnitude. Carter Harrison's slouch hat was something to conjure with, and it was a subject which was carefully avoided by his political opponents.

Harrison's mare, among the finest that money could buy, was almost as much of a symbol as his hat. We have already seen that riding was his favorite exercise and recreation; that it was when he was on his horse that he did his best thinking; that on his horse he dashed to scenes of disorder and charged turbulent throngs, quieting them by the boldness and suddenness of his appearance; and that it was from the back of his spirited mare that he inspected minutely the streets and alleys of the city. There were a number of occasions in the course of a day which presented Carter Harrison on horseback to his fellow-citizens. Thoroughly conscious of his superb horsemanship and not inclined to underestimate the value of advertising, he sought special occasions for showing himself. Seldom did he fail to appear in a parade or a procession. Daily thousands saw him riding, often at a full gallop. So striking was the picture that those who knew him by reputation recognized him at once when they saw him on his horse, while the stranger or the newcomer would be abnormal if he did not inquire about the dashing equestrian. To this inquiry almost any resident would reply, "Oh, that is Carter Harrison." Thus it came about that he was known to practically everyone, a fact which gave him a great advantage over other candidates. Stamped indelibly upon the minds of his fellow-citizens as the man on horseback, it is easy for us to understand that the most impressive sight in

his funeral *cortège* was a Kentucky thoroughbred mare following the hearse, saddled and bridled, but riderless.¹

III. CAMPAIGN ORATORY

A mighty man on the stump, Carter Harrison's platform appeals should receive more than passing mention. Many voters came within the range of his voice, and few there were who could hear him with indifference. It is a noteworthy fact that he did not begin speaking until he was forty-five years of age. Before this time he had said that he would give a quarter of his fortune if he could make a speech, deploring the fact that his deficiency in that regard kept him from law and politics.² Once having found his voice, he made up for lost time, for his later record as a speech-maker compares well with that of any other man in Chicago.

The story of his first,³ and completely successful, political speech is often told. It was not more than two or three minutes long, though it might be difficult to convince those who knew him only as Chicago's chief executive of that fact. It came about in this way:

He was a delegate from his ward to a convention called to nominate a circuit judge. The Democratic paper had opposed the calling of a convention by the central committee. It had denounced its members, and was in favor of Lambert Tree. When the convention met, the Lambert Tree interests sought to capture it. Mr. Harrison jumped on a chair, and his voice got away from him and startled the convention. In an impetuous manner he uttered these very words:

"This is a convention of disorganizers. [Looks of surprise.] This is a convention of revolutionists. [Hisses.] This is a convention of bummers and scalawags. [More hisses.] Such is the language of the *Chicago Times* [Applause], which has prevented the Central Committee from calling a

¹ J. W. Townsend, "C. H. Harrison, Kentuckian," in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, XXIV, No. 71, 160.

² *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 3.

³ We have already noted that his effort at speech-making, in 1856, was not taken seriously by him or by anyone else. See chap. v, sec. I.

convention in the interest of Mr. Tree, and yet this convention is about to stultify itself and nominate the very man who by himself and his friends so stigmatizes it. If Mr. Tree, or someone authorized to speak for him, will agree to abide by the action of this convention I can promise him three votes out of the four from my ward. If no guaranty be given then this convention would stultify and disgrace itself by nominating him."

He had astonished himself. The convention sat silent. No one made a promise. Lambert Tree was in the gallery of the hall, and said not a word. Then Harrison nominated Mr. Rogers. It was carried by a large majority. This was in 1870. . . . He at once became a "wheel-horse" in the politics of his ward.¹

Despite his earlier diffidence, which he was inclined to exaggerate, he was a born speaker. He had not spoken before because he had found nothing in which he was intensely interested to speak about, and his imaginary inhibitions prevented his making an effort on an ordinary occasion. But the judicial convention made him. Keenly interested and diametrically opposed to the course the convention was about to take, his fighting qualities came to the front, drawing out his latent powers. In this speech he drew the attention of his audience at once by arousing intense indignation. He then won tumultuous applause when he revealed his real sentiments. In three more sentences he states the case for the convention and wins the day. Clear, pithy, dramatic, even spectacular, it is doubtful if Harrison ever excelled it in the twenty-three years of speech-making which followed.

Shortly after this Harrison was nominated for county commissioner, and in this campaign he made short pithy speeches. Even after he went to Congress he continued to limit the length of his speeches, saying that he was afraid to risk more than fifteen minutes.² Anyhow, said he, "I can

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

² Harrison rather successfully concealed his early timidity as a speaker under the mask of rollicking humor, which he discontinued partially when he learned that it would ruin his chances of acquiring a reputation as a statesman. *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

rouse the boys, and, after all, that is the main thing.”¹ A little later he said he “had learned that the art of oratory is to hit the nail on the head at the start. Jump into the subject with your coat off. Say something that will make people listen.”²

His evolution as a speaker having been traced briefly, it is now our purpose to view him in action when he was in the fulness of power. A characteristic speech is the one in which he accepted the nomination for the mayoralty for the third time. He had just been nominated “amid a perfect hurricane of applause and cheers.” When he had received intelligence of that fact he started for the convention hall. “At one o’clock a great stir in the lower part of the room, succeeded by wild yells, announced the arrival of Mayor Harrison. He ascended the platform, gave one long, searching look at the reporters, and waiving all preliminaries, began his speech of acceptance:

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Convention, Fellow-Citizens:

I believe what I shall say will be accredited as the truth, in every word and syllable, when I tell you that I am exceedingly sorry that you asked me again to be a candidate for the mayoralty. I am not desirous of being the mayor of Chicago any longer. I have served four years earnestly. I have given all my time, given almost my every thought, to the interests of this great city. I have done so at great personal sacrifice. I acknowledge the great honor that has been paid me, and I am proud that, for four years, in spite of calumny and falsehoods, the bulk of the people of Chicago call me an honest man and a respectable citizen. [Applause.]

Then he goes on to tell how he has replenished a treasury which was depleted four years before, and of how the newspapers continue to abuse him in order to ruin him and the Democratic party even at the cost of blackening the name of Chicago. He says he believes in “carrying the war into Africa,” and he laughs at the combination ticket of the reform-

¹ Quoted in *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 3.

² Quoted in *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

ers and shows up their inconsistency and insincerity and makes a clever exposé of a petty deception of the *Chicago Tribune*.¹ From this he proceeds to attack the papers for attempting to ruin him with the Irish voters; carries the war into Africa for the second time within five minutes; says that no corporation on earth is bigger than Chicago excepting the United States; and in a roundabout way indicts the *Inter-Ocean* for alleged evildoing. One of his old supporters has gone over to the other side, and the Mayor handles him with consummate skill:

. . . . They have got another man that is helping them, one I. N. Stiles. [Laughter and groans.] I appointed him on the school board. He thought so well of me last spring that he came to me and asked me to appoint him again. [Laughter.] He was willing to accept a nomination from this disreputable fellow; and when I got back from Europe and was received so magnificently by my friends here on the lake front, he wrote me from Boston, congratulating me . . . and said it was a deserved compliment to an honorable and excellent official. In an interview a few days since he says he did write me a letter, and that he suspected he got some gush in it. [Laughter.] He dared not deny it. It was the gush from the heart that I. N. Stiles felt. He felt what he said. He now says it is "gush." Over at McCormick's hall he has "gushed." Filled a speech with abusing me. It is the gush of a hired advocate for a bad cause. [Applause.] It was the lawyer speaking for pay. . . .

Again he denounced the *Tribune*, admitting at the same time that its enmity reacted in his favor. Having expressed regrets that Mr. Cary, the opposition candidate for the mayoralty, who had formerly said that the speaker was a "reputable gentleman," should now talk about as badly as the *Tribune*, and having declared that he, the present Mayor, had never asked a city employee for a campaign contribution or an assessment, he tells how he has made Democrats of Republicans:

Take the city hall, as it runs. The commissioner of health a republican, and always has been one—Mr. DeWolf. In his office today the majority

¹ See sec. I, this chapter.

of his employees were there when I came in, and I took it for granted that they were republicans, because Mayor Heath put them in. [He goes through several other departments similarly.] I was for making the city democratic, but not by turning men out of office who did their duty, but by showing to the people of this city that I could give them an honest and efficient administration. I have done it in spite of the opposition of some of my democratic friends who wanted me to turn all of these fellows out. I have made Chicago a democratic city today. . . . [Applause.] A great many of my democratic friends have come to me and said, during my first term: "You are ruining the party." I said to them: "Why, my friends, this city is republican. If I kick out the republicans I certainly shouldn't make democrats of republicans by it. . . ."

Next he ridicules the "citizens' " ticket, which he characterizes as neither flesh, fish, nor fowl—a "mongrel ticket"—to which voters owe no allegiance and for which they have no sentiment. Then he estimates his own strength: "I will get the German vote solid—that is, if I accept, gentlemen. [Laughter.] I will get a large number of respectable Republican taxpayers of this city, because they know that I take care of their pockets. I will get my Irish friends almost entirely." At this point he refutes a letter which had just appeared in the *Tribune* and which criticized his financial management. He reiterates that he does not want the mayoralty, that he has gotten all the glory from the office there is to be had, that he has escaped the rocks on which many a mayor has wrecked, and that this is an opportune time to retire. He wants the city run honestly, and in giving his reasons for this he shows a tenderness which is in pleasing and effective contrast to the general tenor of his speech, a fine sentiment which often came to the surface at the most unexpected time: "I want the city run honestly . . . because of my pride for it. Six little children lie buried here close by, and I expect to lie there by them. My home is here, and will be here. My children, I hope, will remain here when I am dead and gone. I am proud of this city, and I want its management carried on successfully. . . ."

Just a little further on he tells the "boys" to get the Republicans' money, and then warms them for the fray:

. . . . Do you know they have put up a finance committee here with \$35,000,000? They are going to have a great deal of money to spend next Tuesday, and between now and Tuesday. We have got no money. . . . Now I want you boys to get some of their money to help our boys along. [Laughter and applause.] When they begin to pay out, I want the democrats to step in and be supplied. [Laughter.] I want to ask you one question. . . . I want you all to pledge me your word that from this time to next Tuesday, if I accept, you will take off your coats and work for the democratic party as I have worked for four years past. [Great applause and cries of "we will."] I want you to promise me that from now to next Tuesday you will see that every vote is gotten out. [Cries of "yes."] And that you will see that the saloons on next Tuesday are kept closed, that there be no drunkenness, but that every man will stand at the polls and vote the straight democratic ticket. Will you do it? [Cries of "we will."]

In view of the fact that he had been speaking for about an hour, and considering that he had reached a sort of climax, by all the rules of the game he should have stopped here, but he couldn't. He goes on to tell about his health, which has been good so far but which may break down. He speaks of his tenants, who are all good men except two, one of the two being a Republican magistrate and the other a Republican lawyer. He holds forth on the rottenness of the Republican party, with "all the press in the north at its back" and the preachers praying for its success every Sunday. He makes the prophecy of Democratic success on a national scale, and wishes he were young enough to "look toward Washington." He declares he will not accept a fourth term as mayor [laughter], but accepts this, the third, nomination. Once more he turns his catapults on the press. Denying that he is the friend of the gamblers, he blames the court for the prevalence of gambling. He denounces the Republican party for "making the rich man richer and the poor man poorer," but he praises the Democrats in Chicago and elsewhere for

maintaining the right of free speech. Finally, he concludes: "Now, my friends, I have spoken longer than I intended. I do not expect to make any more speeches during the campaign. I have got the city's business to attend to. I have got to attend to it faithfully, so that if my friend Cary comes in he will have the house all cleaned up nicely for him, and if I stay in I won't have much trouble in continuing to run the city's business. I bid you farewell and ask you to do your duty." [Great applause.]¹

This speech, in common with his other political speeches, does not stand out as a model of unity and logical sequence. Obviously, he had made little or no preparation for it, which no doubt accounts in a large measure for the loose language, numerous repetitions, and the frequent and sudden changes of topics. He said a number of clever things, as the injections of "laughter and applause" indicate. On the other hand, some of his talk is pure balderdash. His boasts of Chicago and his expressions of pride in the city, his frequent use of the personal pronoun, his inconsistencies concerning his economic status, his ridicule of the reformers, and his constant criticism of the press are characteristic of all his political speeches.

Most dramatic was he in dealing with a hostile newspaper. His habit of drawing it from his pocket and nailing its alleged lies as he stood on the platform afforded peculiar delight to himself and his audiences. "I do love to catch them in a lie," he said. "One lie nailed is a two-edged sword in my hands."² On one occasion "he read a circular purporting to come from the Street-Car Employees' Campaign Committee, and as he branded sentence after sentence of it as a lie, somebody could be heard injecting into the vociferous applause, 'You're right, Carter, I know it's a lie,' or some such similar comment."³

¹ Quoted in the *Chicago Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Chicago Tribune* (April 4, 1891), p. 1.

When he was running full steam in his political speeches there was a sort of give-and-take between him and his auditors. He never feared questions from his hearers, and seldom failed to turn them to his advantage. Reports of his speeches often give some such account as this: "His speech was vigorous and aggressive and was punctuated by a few queries from the audience which gave him the opportunity to make some telling replies." Always extremely informal on such occasions as political rallies, he would sometimes ask questions of his hearers, especially of those who sat on the platform. A rather ludicrous incident may be related. In the course of one of his speeches he turned to his friend, Congressman Frank Lawler, and said: "Did you ever buy pools, Frank?" Frank was uncertain as to whether the Mayor wished to show him off as an exemplary Christian or as a man of the world. He presently decided that Harrison wished to feature him as the former, and answered, "No." The Mayor turned to the audience, and said: "Frank lies. He has bought pools."¹

The length of Harrison's political speeches came in for considerable comment, and it cannot be denied that he made some rather long ones. But sometimes when the occasion called for a short speech he could limit himself. One illustration will suffice, and it may well be presented in the language of his paper, the *Times*:

Like the roar of giant breakers on a rockbound coast was the welcome that greeted Carter H. Harrison as he arose to address the great audience. The formal ceremony of introduction was omitted. . . . When Mr. Trude, the last speaker, sat down there was a wild universal cry for "Harrison." The cry swelled to the proportions of a shout of victory as the popular idol of the people advanced to the front of the stage, holding his familiar slouch hat in his left hand and extending the right hand in token of friendship and love. For more than five minutes the mighty wave of applause eddied and surged around the gigantic arches of the building, filling every nook and corner with the jubilant music of victory.

¹ *Chicago Daily News* (April 1, 1885), p. 1.

He spoke a very few minutes, and on just one subject: Down with the pressocracy. Each sentence was received with cheers.¹ The most important part of that speech was the slouch hat and the extended hand. Harrison could handle his audience.

The opposition press frequently asserted, in reporting a political speech, that he made the "same identical speech" he had made on other occasions. He did. He was quick to learn what took with his hearers, and whenever he used something which did not strike a responsive chord he was sure to improve it or leave it out of his next speech. He placed his friends and members of his family among his audience, and it was their duty to study the humors of the crowd. From what they reported to him and from his own observations he soon evolved a speech every point of which was a winner. This he repeated during the campaign from time to time and from place to place, varying it only enough to make an appeal to the various racial and economic groups.²

Harrison made many speeches on various occasions which were not of a political, certainly not of a campaign, variety. He loved to speak,³ and he was much in demand on festive and ceremonial occasions, especially during the Fair, when he delivered scores of addresses. They were almost invariably of the "spread-eagle" type, the type that appealed to the 100 per cent Chicagoan in 1893. Concerning Harrison's last address at the Fair, former Alderman Holden said: "He seemed to have been inspired. . . . His feelings were the best and every word uttered by him seemed to take hold of every member of that audience and to sink into his heart."⁴ His

¹ *Chicago Times* (April 2, 1893), p. 2.

² Interviews with William P. Harrison and Heaton Owsley.

³ Said he: "The tête-à-tête between lovers 'beneath the milk-white thorn that scents the evening gale' is delicious. But not more sweet than the communion between the orator and the mighty audience which he sways and bends at will. He holds a tête-à-tête with each of his listeners." *A Summer's Outing*, p. 12.

⁴ *In Memoriam, C. H. Harrison*, p. 55.

well-received occasional addresses no doubt increased his political strength, though they were not directed at an immediate political objective.

Harrison seldom prepared a speech; he said what the time and circumstance prompted. His speeches do not read well, but doubtless they sounded pleasing.¹ He had "an inimitable manner" as a speaker, and he was "brimful of infectious enthusiasm";² so that when he mounted the steed of oratory he could jump ditches of inconsistency, clear hedges of exaggeration, and abruptly wheel back over the same ground, carrying his audience with him at every bound. Even when he at times uttered "vain knowledge" and filled "his belly with the east wind,"³ the regrets of his sophisticated friends were dissipated by the uproarious applause and shouts of approval from the exultant *hoi polloi*.

SUMMARY

In the election campaigns Harrison was at his best. He stood squarely upon his record of achievement in office, always holding this up in answer to the Republican plea for reform, although he often met them on the question of reform with effective ridicule and withering sarcasm. In the campaigns both parties sought aid from the national organizations, but the Republicans met with more success in this than the Democrats, Harrison's standing with the national Democratic administration being not of the highest. Both parties issued the time-honored assurance of victory before each election, but Harrison's confidence and his repeated suc-

¹ "When the reception of the Duke Veragua was in hand we got him to prepare a speech of about 400 words, which was copied out and engrossed by the map department. Then when he met the Duke he blandly and calmly made an entirely new speech, which had no connection whatever with the prepared document. I remember the Duke said when he was presented with a copy: 'I am very much obliged for your speech, Mr. Mayor, in this beautiful form, but I would sooner have the speech you delivered.'" (Mr. Graham, the Mayor's secretary, in the *Chicago Times* [November 5, 1893], p. 3.)

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 75. ³ Job 4: 2.

cesses took the hollowness from this assurance and gave him the greater part of the band-wagon vote. In the campaign Harrison came very near being all things to all men, though it is doubtful if he profited by this, as his friends knew him and so did his enemies. If the Republicans used an argument with one group of voters, "The Eagle" was likely to carry the same argument to an antagonistic group, and with telling cleverness. All of the trappings of political campaigns such as brass bands, parades, banners with slogans, and even vocal music were used by both parties, in all probability more effectively by the Democrats, since that party had the type of following which was more likely to enjoy and be influenced by such things.

In the use of symbols and oratory Harrison had a decided advantage. His hat was like a flag, something to be seen and respected in peace time, and a standard around which men rallied to fight in war time. In like manner his horse helped keep him before the people when he was going about his work between election periods, while it was the dashing mount of a cavalry leader when the campaign was on. No opposing candidate had any such symbols, or indeed, any symbols at all. The Republicans had no candidates who could match Harrison as a campaign orator. Some of their speakers were probably just as good as speakers, but they came into politics only temporarily and they lacked the prestige which Harrison had by his several terms of office and his frequent public appearances. A political speaker of unusual power, Harrison could state facts which carried no conviction of his opponent, but his innuendo caused the uncritical majority to draw the conclusion he desired. A shrewd judge of the popular mentality, he did not try his hearers overmuch with logic, but captivated them with his witticisms and assertions.

CHAPTER XI

GROUP APPEALS

In the last chapter we were considering the more general aspects of Harrison's political campaigns, whereas in this chapter, which is really a continuation of the last, our attention will be devoted to the specific problem of how he won the support of various groups. For convenience we divide these groups into three classes: political, economic and social, racial and nationality. There may be some overlapping, but the method of classification chosen seems necessary if the elements which constituted his political support are to be accounted for in systematic fashion.

Taken in the aggregate, Harrison's followers formed a motley array, a political army as picturesque as its *generalissimo* and in component parts as dissimilar as that which Hannibal led across the Alps. The morning after his retirement from office, in 1887, the *Tribune* stated that he had "had a large, grotesque, and heterogeneous following during his four terms."¹ If all the statements made by the newspapers about Harrison had been as true, he would have had no cause for complaint. The *Tribune* made the further statement that he retired without any following. This seems almost equally true; for certainly he had no articulate following at that time. But so capricious are the crowds and so skilful is the politician that we find the same "large, grotesque, and heterogeneous" mass martialled into an imposing army and enthusiastically accepting his leadership a few years later.

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 19, 1887), editorial.

I. POLITICAL GROUPS

Turning now to the political groups proper, Where was Harrison's strength? In the first place he was a Democrat and received the regular Democratic nomination five of the six times he ran for mayor, and on those five occasions he was elected, four times by large majorities. This means, of course, that he received the regular Democratic vote, though a few Democrats were displeased with him from time to time and gave him reluctant support, and, in a few cases, voted for his opponent. We have pointed out before that Harrison never stood the best with the national party organization because of his stand for the tariff, and, to some extent, because of his bimetallism. Combine these with his independence, his bolt campaign of 1891, and the bad reputation the Chicago press gave him, and we can see how he could not escape some hostility from the local representatives of the national party interests.¹ Even so, it is quite probable that he received as many Democratic votes in his local campaigns as any other candidate would have received. A few votes he lost from disappointed office-seekers,² but these were more than compensated for by votes from other quarters which we shall presently consider. Although the Harrison organization, and especially Harrison, always tried to attract voters of other political persuasion, they never made the mistake of claiming not to be a Democratic organization; consequently we read something like this in several sad postmortems conducted by the opposition press: "The Harrison ticket also had the strength of party backing, while the claims of party were weakened on the other side in the vain hope to secure the co-operation of the more respectable portion of the Democratic vote in the common interest of decency and good gov-

¹ Mrs. Owsley, interview; see also chap. xii, sec. II.

² *Chicago Times* (March 27, 1881), p. 12.

ernment.”¹ Harrison’s attitude was: “We are Democrats, and we will give you good government. If you want it, vote for us.” The Republicans were in the habit of putting up “citizen” candidates, having seemingly gotten some inspiration from the French Revolutionists. A “citizen” opponent was Harrison’s particular delight, and his satires and characterizations of them were very popular with those who furnished the laughter and applause at political meetings. The following is typical, taken from a speech in the 1893 campaign: “Now, I am the candidate of the Democratic party; there is a candidate in the field in opposition to me. He was, a little while ago, a Republican. He says today he is neither a Republican nor is he Democratic. He is a ‘citizen.’ What does that mean? I think it is probable that the people will say: ‘You are a citizen, you are neither hot nor cold, and, in the language of the Scriptures, “we will spew you out.”’ ”²

Not only did Harrison ridicule his opponents, the citizens and reformers, but he would have none of the citizen candidacy for himself. He says that leading men in Chicago urged him to accept such a nomination for the 1893 campaign, but he refused.³ He saw clearly the strength of party backing; stood upon it and reached out from it as far as he could, but never reached so far that he lost his balance. Even when he bolted in 1891 he claimed, and with considerable moral justice, that he was the regular Democratic nominee and asked for support on that ground.⁴

Always standing as a party man, and in position to be of national service to his party as mayor of a great city, it is not surprising that the national organization could ill afford to withhold support, although it was given grudgingly at

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 4, 1883), editorial.

² Quoted in Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 209, 210.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 211.

⁴ *Chicago Daily News* (March 23, 1891), p. 3.

times. In the first place, then, his strength with political groups was in his wisdom in adhering to his party and in his ability to draw that party's support.

His success in administration gave him Republican votes in considerable numbers. One of his bitterest enemies, the *Inter-Ocean* newspaper, admits that "his grasp of the municipal helm was strong and masterful," that he was stronger than his party, and "always had a very considerable republican support, due mainly to his watchfulness over the interests of the tax-payers."¹ The Democratic candidate was fully aware of this fact, and before every election confidently predicted that he would receive votes from many trim and eminently respectable Republican gentlemen because he took care of their pockets.² We should note in this connection that Harrison himself was a large property owner in Chicago, and to this extent his interests and the interests of other men who had large holdings in the city were identical. His economies in administration cut tax rates, and were so obvious that denunciation from the pulpit and defamation from the press were of no avail against many practical business men who were nominal Republicans but who sheepishly sustained Carter Harrison at the polls. Thus it fell out that his type of administration was of financial worth to himself and to his fellow real-estate owners, regardless of party; and it followed from this that many members of the group proverbially hard-hearted in the matter of political sentiment honored him with their franchise. It should be added that his opposition to the Democratic "tariff for revenue only" program enabled the Republican to vote for him with fewer qualms of conscience, although that subject really had nothing to do with the local issues.

When Harrison bolted the city convention and ran an

¹ *Inter-Ocean* (October 31, 1893), editorial.

² *Chicago Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1.

independent race in 1891 his Republican strength was considerable, if we bear in mind the fact that party ties were stronger in municipal elections then than now. The results of that triangular election showed Harrison, the regular Democrat, and the Republican candidates with votes pretty nearly equal. The *Tribune* estimated that at least 10,000 Republicans voted for Harrison because his fight against the Democratic machine appealed to their sympathies and because he was preferred to the regular Democratic candidate.¹ It is not unlikely that he was preferred to the Republican candidate by some of these thousands, though it is not to be expected that a stalwart Republican newspaper would make such a confession.

It has already been stated that many Republicans voted for him in his last campaign because their feelings of fair play were outraged by the treatment given Harrison by the opposition press.² Many others voted for him for reasons given in the preceding paragraphs. Still others voted for him because of his wealth, experience, and age, concluding that he would give his best and most unselfish administration. A German Republican said: "I will not try to make him out a saint. I am very sure that during his political career he has done very many things for which he is now sorry. It is utterly impossible for any man with political ambition to be absolutely true to himself. His acts are very often a compromise between his conscience and his ambition." He then went on to say that he thought the time for purity in politics had come, and that he believed Carter Harrison entertained the same views, and that, if elected, he would carry them out, having nothing to gain by acting to the contrary.³ Here is the case of a representative, substantial citizen with Repub-

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 8, 1891), editorial.

² See chap. viii, sec. V; chap. xii, sec. II.

³ Quoted in *Chicago Times* (April 2, 1893), p. 2.

lican affiliations who definitely, though not enthusiastically, approved of Harrison. This is no doubt typical of many citizens who voted for the World's Fair mayor with some heaviness of spirit. In this same election it is clear that other Republicans supported him because of the fact that he was one of few men in Chicago who could do the honors properly during the Fair season.

Still other Republicans supported Harrison for reasons best known to themselves. He was a winner. In that word magic political qualities are sometimes found. In the campaign of 1893 the *Inter-Ocean* tells the faithful that the battle will be hard: "One Republican ward politician openly announces his defection to Harrison," it states, "and considering the aldermanic nomination he was largely instrumental in securing his own ward, and especially the kind of primary he ran in his own precinct, he has only gone to his own. Others of the same ilk will do likewise, only less openly perhaps."¹

Harrison made greater progress in drawing the Socialist vote than he did with winning Republican support, though we have just seen that he had considerable success with the latter. He was accused of being altogether too thick with Socialists and radicals and vicious elements. One weekly stated that while he was not an anarchist, he was an apologist for anarchists.² The truth is that Carter Harrison was neither a Socialist nor an apologist for anarchists. He could distinguish between socialism and anarchism, and he saw much good in individual Socialists and did not fail to employ them for the good of the city. He had no fear of a man or men simply because they expressed their belief in socialism.³

¹ *Inter-Ocean* (March 24, 1893), editorial.

² *Frank Leslie's Weekly* (November 9, 1893), p. 302.

³ Four Socialists were elected as aldermen in 1879 and in 1880. They were among the best—the most constructive—the city has ever had. Harrison recognized their quality. Carter H. Harrison II, interview.

As for being an apologist for anarchism, the charge has no basis in fact. He was an "apologist" for free speech in a day when the conservative classes thought that free speech meant that only their own groups should be allowed to speak out. The most charitable interpretation to make of the charge of being a defender of anarchists is to say it was based on Harrison's advocacy of free speech for anarchists and on his statement that he did not believe those condemned to die for the Haymarket riot had any direct connection with the throwing of the bomb. In no sense a radical or a defender of radicals, Harrison won the support of the milder of them by his belief in, and impartial application of, the original American principle of free speech, and by his common sense and knowledge of men.¹

When he was first elected mayor the Socialist candidate polled about 12,000 votes, which was quite a large third-party vote for that period of Chicago's history. This was the last important stand the Socialist party made while Harrison was in politics. His biographer, Willis Abbot, writes:

. . . . By diplomatic treatment Harrison disintegrated the socialistic element as a political unity and brought its most creditable faction over to the democratic party. Some of the candidates upon the Socialistic ticket of 1879 he appointed to city offices of high honor, where they were, without exception, creditable and efficient public servants.²

. . . . He declared that the socialist representatives in the common council had been admirable officials, and that some of the most beneficial public measures originated with them. The ordinances providing for factory and tenement-house inspection and regulation he cited as examples of the fruits of socialistic endeavor. . . .³

When Harrison retired from politics temporarily in 1887 the Socialists felt that they had some chance of winning against the Republican candidate, and there was considerable perturbation in the well-ordered society in Chicago. Harrison calmly stated that he was not in the least worried,

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 140.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

that the prosperity of Chicago did not depend upon the mayor's politics.¹ Not only that, but he said he would be glad to assist Mr. Nelson, the Socialist candidate, in the event of his election, until he had familiarized himself with the duties of his office. We can hardly attribute his action here to spite when it is remembered that he refused to support Nelson for the mayoralty.² He was only interested in a square deal, which he considered the Socialists were not getting in the campaign. He pointed out after the election that certain newspapers had applauded a report that the police department was working to defeat the radical candidates. This, he said, was a most unfair and dangerous proceeding; for if such methods could be used against Socialists, why could they not be employed against Democrats by Republicans; against Catholics by Protestants, etc.?³ During his whole political career Harrison's principles and actions were never sharply antagonistic to the milder Socialists, and it is significant that the only time they polled an appreciable vote after he had established himself in politics was in the election of 1887, when he was not a candidate. It would seem, therefore, that Mr. Abbot was correct when he said that Harrison won over to the Democrats the best element of the Socialist party, the party which frightened Chicago's "elect" citizens.

II. ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL GROUPS

Having seen something of Harrison's strength with his own political party and his ability at making inroads into the Republican camp and of his qualities which practically drove the Socialists from the field, we now turn to another phase of the subject, namely, his standing with the economic and social groups. Harrison enjoyed the friendship of the

¹ *Chicago Daily News* (March 22, 1887), p. 1.

² *Ibid.* (April 4, 1887), p. 1.

³ *Council Proceedings* (1887-88), p. 9.

rich and the poor, the laborer and the capitalist, said Alderman Smith.¹ Not only did he have their friendship, but their votes followed in considerable quantities. He was both liberal and conservative. Knowing the history of Chicago as few knew it, carrying figures in his memory to an extent uncanny, he could sit around the council board with the city's prize business men and talk finance with all the caution of that class to which he belonged.² From this he could go and make a speech on democracy with all the vehemence of a Jackson and with all the sincerity of a Jefferson; or he might make an announcement on the rights of labor which would leave little for that group to desire. His strength was greatest with the classes which represented the extremes in earthly possessions. His greatest hold was on the working classes; his next best hold was with the capitalists; while the middle class was predominantly hostile.

Business men had nothing to fear from a business mayor. As mayor of the city he was not trying to injure them, and they knew it. Where their plans conflicted with the city's program they could rely upon the city's chief giving them an intelligent hearing, and an adjustment of the difficulties, with as little sacrifice and inconvenience as possible, would be made. When the ordinance for track elevation was passed the Mayor was not satisfied and asked and received the consent of the Council to appoint an expert engineer who should make arrangements with each railroad company along the lines which necessity and convenience dictated.³ Although some of his moves ran counter to the immediate plans of big business, the Mayor's desire to make just arrangements usually won their support. At any rate they knew what to expect when he was in office, and it is not surprising that the stock-

¹ In *In Memoriam*, C. H. Harrison, p. 72.

² *Chicago Herald* (October 30, 1893), editorial.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

yards interest, packing-house interests, and street railway companies generally tended in his direction politically.¹ Those who subsisted upon rents from real estate were certainly not blind to the advantage of having a fellow-realtor for mayor. "This class, posing for eminent respectability, could not be dissuaded from supporting Harrison though every victim of the Haymarket slaughter were to rise from the dead and shake his gory locks in protestation."²

Carter Harrison was a friend of the working classes, and the reputation he enjoyed among them for such friendship was every whit as great as his solicitation for their welfare. In his first successful campaign for Congress he talked about a Republican congress which had been making the poor man poorer and the rich man richer, and with the politician's liberty, placed himself in the less favored class.³ As mayor he was not unmindful of the poor, or, as some would put it, of an opportunity to appeal to the poor. In advocating a wider use of license fees for revenue purposes he said:

There is no reason why a poor peddler or expressman should pay a license to enable him to ply a trade which barely keeps his wife and child from starvation, while hundreds of dealers whose occupations bring them princely incomes should go scot free. . . . Why should they go free while the poor widow has to pay a license for the privilege of furnishing the rich with cooks and chamber-maids, or the cripple for the privilege of earning his living at an apple stand?⁴

When the Council was about to grant a concession to a railroad company, he argued that the people in the district concerned were comparatively poor and the duty of the Council was to protect them.⁵ After the Haymarket riot,

¹ *Ibid.* (April 5, 1883), p. 7.

² *Inter-Ocean* (April 4, 1893), editorial. The chapter on administration contains much more detailed information on Harrison's business methods and how they appealed to large taxpayers.

³ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁴ *Council Proceedings* (1881-82), p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.* (1883-84), p. 364.

and when capitalists in Chicago were very much frightened, a delegation from that group which would have overawed many a mayor called on Mayor Harrison. They wanted to see drastic actions taken to suppress meetings and assemblies. Harrison was not ready to follow their suggestion, and Mr. Field said: "Mr. Harrison, we represent great interests in Chicago." The Mayor interrupted: "Mr. Field, any poor man owning a single small cottage as his sole possession has the same interest in Chicago as its richest citizen."¹ Mr. John Goodwin stated that he was present when Harrison rejected Governor Oglesby's offer to call out the militia to suppress a street-car strike. The Mayor's reply was that he did not want soldiers to shoot down workingmen.²

While not opposed to strong-arm methods in dealing with labor troubles or any form of disorder when all other expedients had been exhausted, he would always be one of the last to admit that other means had been exhausted. Mr. W. P. Rend, a man politically opposed to him, gives an account of Harrison's solution of a labor trouble:

There was an epidemic of industrial disease upon the country. We had ceaseless strikes and great trouble. The militia had been called out and everybody feared a collision between the soldiers and the strikers. We had a mass meeting of citizens to consider the situation, which was blue enough for Chicago, I assure you, and at that meeting I heard Carter Harrison make his first speech to the merchants of this city. He took the broad and bold ground that our wise course would be conciliation, and that the militia should not interfere, except there was the direst necessity.

You must remember that there had been already [trouble] in which shooting had taken place, a fact which made Harrison's advice all the more striking, but, to make a long story short, he convinced us that he was right and the meeting followed his lead. From that day forth I watched him as a more than ordinary man. As he predicted everything followed. The men, treated properly, went back to work, law and order

¹ *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 22.

² *Ibid.* (April 3, 1893), p. 1.

prevailed, and it was Carter Harrison who brought the whole result about, not as a politician, but as a good citizen advising with other good citizens for the safety and advantage of Chicago.¹

As mayor it was sometimes necessary for Harrison to take vigorous action against strikers, but the physical courage which he always displayed at such times won the admiration rather than the enmity of the labor element. Furthermore, reflection on the part of the saner leaders convinced them that the Mayor was not their enemy because he would not allow them to resort to violence to attain their ends.² Harrison's interest and sympathy were displayed in too many ways to permit occasional emergency acts of his to blind them to his friendship. He took an active part in looking after the unemployed, and pushed public improvements during periods of depression in order to provide employment. In a particularly acute emergency he appointed a committee of 200 to take charge of furnishing food and work for the unemployed. In all matters of this kind "he was found to be alive to the interests of the poor people of the city and fertile in suggestion."³

The gentleman whom labor delighted to honor was not opposed to, and was probably an advocate of, union labor. His opponents in 1891 tried to discredit him with labor, but it seems that they had little success.⁴ Accredited by the workingmen as a friend of organized labor and their champion for the eight-hour day, it was easy for the toilers to believe Carter Harrison when he refuted his opponents' charges that he had not employed union labor when he had an addition built to his mansion. Said a prominent labor leader:

When we were struggling for the eight-hour law he assisted us. He ever lent his aid to us in our efforts toward shortening of hours and the

¹ *Ibid.* (November 5, 1893), p. 3.

² See chap. viii, sec. X.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.* (April 4, 1891), p. 1.

increase of wages. He proved himself always to be a friend of the working people; he allowed during his five terms as Mayor that freedom of speech and has kept sacred that right of assembly which are basic elements of a free government and are especially dear to the wage-workers of America's municipalities in these days when such rights are so frequently trampled on by designing, weak, or ignorant rulers; he was approachable, while in office, by the humblest citizen; all callers have been treated alike by him, the millionaire being accorded no more careful hearing than the poorest wage-worker.¹

Another leader of the same group said that they had had him as their grand marshal on the last Labor Day, and that he was a warm friend of labor. He concluded: "We propose now to erect a monument that will be a lasting memorial of the high esteem in which Carter H. Harrison was held by organized labor in Chicago."² If further proof of his good standing with the workers is needed it is found in the fact that a so-called "labor candidate," in 1893, Mr. Cregier, who had previously been mayor of Chicago, received only 3,033 votes.

Proceeding now to a consideration of Harrison's standing with the social groups, we shall find that his most loyal adherents belonged to classes of society which were not represented in his parlor. The gamblers, those interested in prostitution, the saloon-keepers, and men of that type were his ardent supporters. They did not represent his sole support, as was often charged, but as classes they gave him handsome majorities. His attitude on such questions, largely affected by two years' residence in Europe as a young man, was suited to their needs. He believed that the liquor business, sanctioned by law, should have full protection of the law. The saloon-keeper and the groceryman he placed in the same class as far as their rights were concerned. Any discrimination brought forth his disapproval. Sexual vice he regarded as impossible of eradication, and in that he did not differ

¹ *Ibid.* (November 1, 1893), p. 2.

² *Ibid.* (October 31, 1893), p. 2.

from many ministers of his day. Gambling he was not particularly opposed to as long as the poorer and weaker persons were protected from it. He not infrequently made wagers and bought pools himself.¹ If his attitude and actions were not favorable to these classes, the newspapers told them the contrary so often that those who were susceptible to press influence would have certainly believed it.² Be that as it may, most of their votes counted for him.

The boss gambler of Chicago, Mike McDonald, was one of his constant supporters. Mike figured in nearly every convention which nominated him, and was one of the leading spirits in one of them.³ In the last campaign a letter was written to all the gamblers in Chicago. It was written on Democratic stationery, and Mike's name was printed at the bottom. It read: "I wish you would please come to 137 Monroe Street to see me as soon as possible on important business." The Republican press said that this meant that Harrison had sold out to the gamblers, and Harrison said it had nothing to do with the campaign.⁴ It probably did have something to do with the campaign; just how much it is impossible to tell. During this campaign the venerable candidate saw fit to denounce Mike for his political activity,⁵ all of which Mike took like a man and became a little more discreet, but there is no doubt that he or someone else collected subscriptions from gamblers for Harrison's campaign. The *Inter-Ocean* estimated the amount at between \$300,000 and \$500,000.⁶ Harrison himself told his campaign manager that money had been collected; the amount he did not state, but he did make the statement that a bag containing \$25,000 was to be re-

¹ *Ibid.* (April 5, 1891), pp. 1, 2.

² Mrs. Owsley, interview.

³ *Chicago Daily News* (March 25, 1885), p. 1.

⁴ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁶ *Inter-Ocean* (March 28, 1893), p. 2.

turned to the gamblers. Here we get some light on his technique in dealing with gamblers. He called his campaign manager, Mr. Adolf Kraus, into his office, pointed to a bag in the safe, and spoke somewhat as follows: "That bag," said the candidate, "contains \$25,000. It has been collected from the gamblers of Chicago. We never know just what may happen. Life is uncertain, and in case I should die before election, I want you to see that it gets back to the gamblers." The manager was surprised, and asked why he had accepted it in the first place if he intended to return it. To this the politician replied: "Why a gambler votes with his money. If I refuse their money, they withhold their votes. I accept their money, get their votes, and after election return their money. I want their votes, not their money." Mr. Kraus does not doubt that Mr. Harrison did return the money,¹ and it is certain that the Mayor-elect, a man of wealth, did not need the money. From an ethical standpoint the transaction does not go on a very high plane; but from the standpoint of practical politics it was probably a clever bit of strategy. What gambler would vote for a man who had refused his money?

There seems to have been a question in Harrison's mind at times as to whether he was not losing valuable support elsewhere from the aid he was receiving from these elements. When it was rumored that Mike McDonald had gone over to the opposition in 1883 the Mayor said he was glad, but expressed his anger that Mike had not gone over sooner, since his move came too late to help him with the better class, but soon enough to injure him with the gamblers and their ilk.² It was mentioned in the last paragraph that Harrison felt the necessity of suppressing Mike in 1893, fearing that his enthusiasm would injure the Democratic cause.

¹ Mr. Kraus, interview.

² *Chicago Daily News* (April 3, 1883), p. 1.

Mike had previously declared that his stand for Harrison was worth 5,000 votes to the ex-Mayor, for, as the gambler put it, "the goody-goody people would be against Harrison anyway, and it has driven many of the boys over to him."¹ Mike's statement was probably not grossly incorrect.

One might expect to find the gamblers more powerful than the Mayor, considering the support he received from them, but this is not true. His administrations were favorable to the gamblers, of course, and for reasons already noted, but Harrison was not controlled by them or by any other group. He regulated the gamblers, and when they failed to follow his regulations, there was conflict in which the parasites came out second. Mike once called the Mayor's hand, and his place was smashed. Mike then "crawled," admitted that Carter was boss, and he was allowed to resume business.²

We have already pointed out that the higher strata of society, especially those with means, including many Republicans, supported Harrison because he practiced economy in administration. The middle class, which included the smaller professional men, the teachers, preachers, and churchgoers generally could not find it in their hearts to give aid and comfort to Harrison. Those who earned a living by the sweat of their brow, or perchance illegitimately from the sweat of another's brow, regarded him as a gift of the gods.

III. RACE AND NATIONALITIES

It remains to consider Carter Harrison's contact with the several races and nationalities which made up a large part of the population of Chicago. He made these people the object of his special interest. According to Victor Lawson, Harrison realized fully the "extent to which the population of Chicago is foreign born," and "he devoted himself to gain-

¹ *Inter-Ocean* (March 28, 1893), p. 2.

² Colonel Chamberlin, interview.

ing the support of men of every nationality.”¹ A wide traveler, an acute observer of peoples, with some facility in handling languages, holding broad ideas of personal liberty, he was just the man to win the confidence and the suffrage of the naturalized citizen. He had an appeal for each group, not omitting the native Negro. To the Norwegian he was a descendant of the Vikings; to the Bohemian he was a messenger from their old country; to the German he was a friend of Bismarck; and so on through the whole list. One of his opponents humorously remarked that on “St. George’s Day Harrison blooms out like an English rose. St. Andrew’s Day he is stuck full of thistles. St. Patrick’s Day he looks like a clover field. He is covered from head to foot with sham-rock, Harrison is an American only through an accident of birth.”² Another critic said that if Chinese had votes, Carter would no doubt assure the Celestials that he had but just recently been shorn of his “pig-tail.”³ But these methods, while ridiculed by his opponents and good-naturedly laughed at by his friends, were effective with the naturalized electorate, gathered from the four corners of the earth. To a more detailed analysis of his methods and his hold upon the foreign born we now turn.

It is absolutely essential to give some idea of the foreign-born population of Chicago during Carter Harrison’s régime. In 1880 the foreign-born population was 204,859; the total population was 503,185.⁴ Ten years later the foreign-born population totaled 450,666 in the city of 1,099,850.⁵ Of the native white population in 1890, over 400,000 were of foreign parentage.⁶ This last-stated fact gains in significance when we take into consideration the further fact that the largest

¹ Quoted in *Chicago Tribune* (October 30, 1893), p. 4.

² *Ibid.* (March 29, 1885), p. 10.

³ *Inter-Ocean* (April 5, 1885), p. 6.

⁴ Census, 1880, I, 448.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1890, I, 370, 670.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 527.

of these groups, the German, which made up 161,039 of the foreign-born population in 1893,¹ is slow to become assimilated. In 1892 the number of naturalized persons who were actually registered as voters was 128,212, while the native voters exceeded that number by slightly more than three thousand.² For convenience we list in Table I the number of foreign born for each of the important groups as of 1890, and the number of registered voters in each as of 1892.

TABLE I

Nationality	Number of Foreign Born*	Number of Registered Voters†
German.....	161,039	45,005
Irish.....	70,028	23,578
Swedish.....	43,032	10,838
Norwegian.....	21,835	4,832
Bohemian.....	25,105	5,721
Polish.....	24,086	4,865
Canadian.....	24,297	6,693
English.....	28,337	7,844

* Census, 1890, I, 670-73.

† *Daily News Almanac* (1894), p. 318.

The English and Canadian born were largely Republican, and Harrison seems to have made no particular effort to win them, though he might have won over some Canadians by a judicious twisting of the Lion's tail. It is probable that he preferred to spend his energy on those groups which were growing more rapidly in Chicago. Harrison was not content with the normal vote the proverbially Democratic Irish might give him, but endeavored to win them all. He made still greater efforts to win the Germans and other continentals who already liked him because of the liberty he preached and practiced.

With the Germans, as with most of his followers, he played up his liberality on the saloon question, being opposed

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 670.

² *Daily News Almanac* (1894), p. 318.

to a high license. This and the "clean-up" question were principal issues in the 1883 campaign, and the opposition found it necessary to assure the Germans that if the Republicans came in, their clean-up would not in any way interfere with the saloon people of the German nationality, since they kept respectable beer saloons.¹ The men of this nationality were not convinced, however, and they did not like the talk about high license. So it fell out that after the election a newspaper announced that "the defection of the Germans was not overestimated. They voted with the Harrison crowd on the license question. The brewers influenced the higher classes among the Germans; the beer saloons reached the others; the *Staats-Zeitung* cracked the whip over all for reasons best known to itself."²

When Harrison had breakfast with Bismarck he had been previously enjoined to silence on the visit, but the Prince's guest requested to be released from this obligation, adding that "our people, and particularly my German friends," would be delighted to hear what he saw and heard at Bismarck's table. Harrison's bold way was successful even with Bismarck,³ and the Germans of Chicago heard all about that delightful breakfast.

Leaving no stone unturned, Harrison was successful with the German-born electorate in all his campaigns, not excepting the time he ran independently,⁴ and despite the personal hostility of the publisher of the largest German newspaper⁵ in the city, in his last campaign, in 1893.⁶ In 1891 *Der Westen* contained an editorial for Harrison which was reproduced

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 1, 1883), editorial.

² *Ibid.* (April 4, 1883), editorial.

³ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

⁴ *Chicago Daily News* (April 1, 1891), p. 1.

⁵ The editor, Mr. Hesing, was angry because the Democrats had not chosen him as their standard-bearer, and the guns of the *Staats-Zeitung* were turned on Harrison.

⁶ *Chicago Times* (April 2, 1893), p. 6.

on the front page in twenty-four languages.¹ At the time of Harrison's death, Mr. Dreyer, one of his former campaign managers, stated that "the German population of Chicago never had such a friend, so firm and loyal a friend, as he. He was open, candid, and true."² This friendship of his for the Germans netted him, when translated into material considerations, enormous political profit, as the election returns of his last campaign will show. Fourteen of the thirty-four wards contained these Nordics who made up a voting population varying from about 15 to 40 per cent of the total. He carried eleven of these wards, most of them by substantial majorities. Three of them he lost: one by a slight plurality, two by the scantiest majorities.³ All this in the face of the most determined opposition of the important newspaper, the *Staats-Zeitung*.

The question faced with the Irish voter was not how to get the most of them, but how to get them all and keep them. The Republicans made many and various efforts to weaken him with this element, efforts which were not crowned with success. The Mayor refused to preside at an Irish Nationalists' meeting which was held in Chicago, and the Republican papers were careful to point out to the Irish that they were fools to stand by a man who would insult them. When Harrison was abroad for a vacation, in 1882, he spent much time in Ireland, was received with enthusiasm all over that country, and made the appropriate speeches. For this he was accused, no doubt with a great deal of truth, of pandering to the Irish voters in Chicago, and the Irish were warned to beware of the politician. But he had spoken so highly of the Irish who had taken up their abode in America that they could not resist him, and a great reception awaited him when

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 6, 1891), p. 1.

² *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 3.

³ *Daily News Almanac* (1894), pp. 318 ff.

he returned to Chicago. In his speeches on the Emerald Isle he denied being an Irishman, but rested his claim to a hold on the Irish hearts the world over by virtue of the fact that he loved liberty and hated tyranny.¹ If the Mayor refused to appoint incompetent Irishmen to office, the papers told them that Harrison was ungrateful and pointed out the folly of their blindly voting the Democratic ticket.² Sometimes the papers would state that the Irish were rapidly turning against Harrison, but that gentleman, having a sense of humor, laughed,³ and with good reason, as we shall see presently.

The Mayor of Dublin sent Harrison word that the English were about to abolish the jury trial in Ireland. Chicago's mayor immediately prepared a resolution which the Council unanimously voted should be sent to Lord Salisbury, prime minister. It reads: "We most respectfully request the ministers of Her Majesty the Queen of England that they forbear to make this attack upon the spirit of liberty; that we believe the world will view it with horror and will consider it the backward step of the nineteenth century, and we feel it will be a stain upon the escutcheon of England;"⁴ If this made the Mayor and Council appear ridiculous to the English and to a considerable body of Americans, no doubt it caused many naturalized Irishmen to think of the city fathers as the defenders of liberty.

Being hard pressed in the campaign of 1885, the Mayor bestirred himself to strengthen the Irish who were weakhearted in his behalf. A Colonel Mulligan had departed this life, and Harrison wired for the removal of Miss Ada C. Sweet, a pension agent, in order to give place to Mrs. Mulligan. The purpose of the wire strikes us with peculiar force when we

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 ff.; biographical sketch in *In Memoriam*, p. 9.

² *Chicago Tribune* (November 4, 1884), p. 6; *ibid.* (April 4, 1881), editorial.

³ *Chicago Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1.

⁴ *Council Proceedings* (1886-87), p. 660.

notice that it was sent just a few days before the mayoralty election and three months before the time he requested that Miss Sweet's resignation should take effect. Yet the few Democratic papers played it up, and the Irish seemed to like it.¹

In 1893 Harrison received the majority in twelve of thirteen wards in which the Irish nationality had voting strength varying from 10 to 30 per cent of the total voting population. The voting population of the ward he lost was only about 14 per cent Irish, and the ward went to his opponent by 202 votes out of nearly eleven thousand cast.²

Harrison was hardly less mindful of the nationalities which were not so well represented in Chicago as the German and the Irish. He told the Scandinavians that he was after all of their number; that the Harrisons had originally been great folks in the northlands, and were known as Arrisons; but on an evil day some of them went to England, and the English added the "H," and they were henceforth Harrisons. He asked his friends not to visit the sins of his fathers upon him, but to vote for him as their fellow-national on election day. They replied that they would.

The appeal he made to the Bohemians was that of "Home, Sweet Home," the gist of which was: "My friends, I have traveled over your beautiful home land. I visited such and such a city. By the way, are any of you from that city? [Cries of "Yes," and a number jump to their feet in their enthusiasm.] Well, there I was the guest of Mayor so-and-so. Do you remember him? ["Oh, yes."] Then I was in another of your great cities [naming it]. Anybody here from there? [Another group shouts and cheers.]" And thus Harrison goes on to identify all the important places and men in Bohemia, and his audience rises and applauds. He conclud-

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 6, 1885), p. 3.

² *Daily News Almanac* (1894), pp. 318 ff.

ed: "But what struck me most of all was the beauty of the women of Bohemia; if I had been unmarried, I certainly would have brought one of your fair sisters back to Chicago as my bride. Well, boys, I have two other speeches to make tonight, so, *Preju Vam Trikrate Nazdar*."¹ And then his audience shouted back *Nazdar, Nazdar*, and some followed him to his carriage, continuing the felicitation. Our estimation of Harrison's ability and resourcefulness in appealing to the Bohemians does not fall when we learn that Mr. Kraus, his campaign manager, taught him the Bohemian expression he used so effectively while they were on their way to that particular meeting.² It is probable that Harrison received nearly all of the 5,500 Bohemian votes. One of their leaders said it was no use to hold meetings of his nationality, it being a well-known fact that they were all for Harrison anyhow.³ This was no idle boast, for Harrison carried the Polish ward by a vote of more than four to one.⁴

There were very few southern Europeans in the city in Harrison's day. Had there been, how easy it would have been for him to have told them about the glories of old Rome, to have fanned the flame of Italian nationalism, to have resurrected the ruins of ancient Athens before the eyes of the Greeks, and to have consigned the Turks to outer darkness. It came natural to Harrison to identify himself with the people of diverse nationality and race, even where such connection would be of small political importance. The Indian chief who was at the Fair said that Carter Harrison told him they were brothers; "And," continued the chief, "I loved him as much, for in his veins ran the blood of one of my race—Pocahontas. On Chicago day we both stood by the bell. He then promised that he would help my people."⁵

¹ "I wish you three times goodbye."

³ *Chicago Times* (April 3, 1893), p. 1.

² Adolf Kraus, interview.

⁴ See Appendix B.

⁵ *Chicago Times* (October 31, 1893), p. 2.

While of course the Negroes belonged to the native group, their status was such that it is proper to treat them with the naturalized citizens. They were not numerous in Chicago in those days, there being only about fourteen thousand of them in 1890.¹ By a rough estimate this would mean something over three thousand voters. Harrison was one of few Democrats who could make any headway with this race, and it is probably due to the fact that the greater number of the colored men were but recently from the South. To those who are familiar with the paradox it is not surprising that they should have felt their hearts go out to Harrison, the former master of slaves. To them he was one of the real gentlemen of Chicago, and their friend. After the war many of the darkies from the old plantations came to "Marse Catah" for a job.² In one of his campaigns he sent out a circular in which his love for the dark-skinned race was painted in highly tinted colors, and the "man and brother" was exhorted to cast his ballot for Harrison.³ In the election which followed the *Inter-Ocean* estimated that at least half of the colored vote went for the former Kentucky planter.⁴

A splendid illustration of Harrison's success in dealing with the new Americans is found in the following story. A young German, not long in Chicago, had his coat stolen, and that in zero weather. As he hurried along the street, chilled to the bone, he recognized his garment in the window of a second-hand store. Not knowing how to proceed in the matter of recovering his coat, he asked the advice of his fellow-workers, one of whom was an Irishman, who told him to see the Mayor, the *Burgermeister*. The German followed his advice, and we let him tell the story:

¹ Census, 1890, I, 454.

² Mrs. Owsley, interview.

³ *Chicago Daily News* (April 6, 1885), p. 1.

⁴ *Inter-Ocean* (April 9, 1885), p. 6.

. . . . When the lunch hour came, in my innocence, I went to the old Rookery building, found the Mayor's office and stood at the entrance, among what I now know were office-seekers. There I stood, when suddenly three men stepped out, and one of them, noticing my hat in hand, inquired what I wanted. I told him as well as I could in my broken English; then he asked me how far away was the place. He stepped back into the office, spoke to someone inside and then beckoned me to come along.

Away we went; I was bewildered, not realizing to whom I was speaking until we landed at one of the entrances. In a few moments it was brought home to me that it must be the Mayor himself, as he said, taking out and looking at his watch, "I have an appointment with John A. King to lunch with him at Billy Boyle's at 1 o'clock about some city matter." Soon a horse and buggy drove up to the door where we stood, and hurrying me out and seating me with him, carefully wrapping a big robe over my shivering body, we soon pulled up alongside my coat. "Take a good look at it and be sure it's yours," he said, and when I assured him I was positive it was my gabardine, [in] we entered. The . . . owner stepped forward when the Mayor sauntered back to the glass door, and wiping off some of the frost and pointing to my lost external attire, inquired how long he had had that coat. The response was "Two or three weeks," when my companion followed up by asking if he had entered it upon his book, but was told that as his wife had taken it in—maybe she had forgotten. "This man claims it was stolen from his house this morning," to which the merchant gave a rather flippant rejoinder. "Well," says my new-found friend, "my name is Carter H. Harrison, and I am Mayor of this town and I'm in somewhat of a hurry, so I'll just give you five minutes to hand over that coat." The roars of that dealer were pathetic, but the Mayor held his watch in hand and it began to dawn on the merchant that it was really the Mayor. The upshot of the visit was that I got my coat, was hustled back into the buggy, driven over to my side of the river, when the Mayor shook hands very graciously, winding up with the remark that any time I was in trouble, to step over to the City Hall and see him.

Concluding his story, the German said, "I don't care what he did or didn't do; he got me back my coat and he'll always get my vote."¹

If we turn now to Appendix B we will get a tabular view of Harrison's strength by wards. The figures are those of the

¹ Quoted in Bernard McMahon's letter to the author.

election of 1893, when Harrison was best known to all parties and when the data on the wards was most complete. The figures show that Harrison carried twenty-three of the thirty-four wards. In sixteen wards in which business requiring a considerable outlay of capital was a major concern, he lost but one. There were seventeen wards in which the labor and artisan classes predominated; of these he lost two. Voters of foreign nationality comprised a majority in twenty wards, of which he carried seventeen. If we examine the wards in which the three conditions favorable to him were combined, we find that he carried all of the fourteen except one, the twentieth. Some explanation of the obstinacy of the twentieth is in order. In the first place, he lost it only by the smallest majority: 2,153 and 2,110 was the vote. In the second place, 2,111 of the 2,802 foreign-born voters in the ward, which had only 5,112 voters, were German. Now "Wash" Hesing, publisher and editor of the leading German newspaper in Chicago, the *Staats-Zeitung*, had unsuccessfully sought the Democratic nomination for the mayoralty in 1893, and in this campaign he was very bitter against Harrison. It may be that Hesing and his *Staats-Zeitung* turned enough Germans in this ward against Harrison to place him in the minority.

The second part of Appendix B shows Harrison's strength in some typical counties of the state. By a comparison of the vote of Harrison, the candidate for governor, with that of Cleveland, the presidential candidate, we find that Harrison led Cleveland by 7,284 votes. Nearly three-fourths of this lead was contributed by nine counties in which there were industrial cities and in which the foreign-born population was as much as 20 per cent of the total population, although these counties cast less than one-third of the Democratic vote. If we leave Cook County out of the calculation it is found that the eight remaining counties, casting one-

ninth of the Democratic vote, gave Harrison 743 votes over Cleveland. Twelve rural counties with native population, casting almost exactly the same number of Democratic votes as the eight urban-industrial-foreign-born counties, gave Harrison a lead of only 249 votes. It is clear, then, that Harrison maintained something of his hold on the cities, the workers, and the foreign born even outside his native Chicago and Cook County. This fact gains significance when it is remembered that Harrison was on the ticket with another great liberal who made his start in municipal politics. Furthermore, considering Harrison's lead over Cleveland in practically every county in the state, it is fair to conclude that Harrison added strength to the national Democratic ticket in Illinois.

SUMMARY

Although not a stalwart Democrat, chiefly because of his views on the tariff, Harrison stood as a regular party man, and he always had the support of the vast majority of those of his own party, except, of course, when he bolted in 1891. His economies in administration appealed to a number of substantial Republicans, and his reputation as a winner probably won over some of the members of that party who wished to "feed at the public crib." His confidence in the better element in the Socialist party, his ability to co-operate with them, and his ideas with regard to the sacredness of personal liberty brought nearly all of the Socialists to his support.

Essentially a business mayor, Harrison's dealing with business men was usually satisfactory to them, although on occasion they lost patience with him because of his liberality toward those who were giving the capitalistic order trouble. He was popular with labor, not being opposed to unions and having assisted labor in its struggle for the eight-hour day. Because of his well-known views on social questions those classes which we might designate as "harpies" gave him their

loyal support. It will thus be seen that Harrison's support came from the two extremes, the middle class being generally hostile.

With the Americans by choice, Chicago's Mayor, cosmopolitan by nature, travel, and studied effort, was an ideal. He won the Germans largely by his liberality on the saloon question, his genuine respect for them, and his knowledge of their institutions. The Irish he held by his humor, flattery, and by such efforts as the appeal to the English Prime Minister not to abolish the jury trial in Ireland. The other nationalities he won by associating himself with their interests in various ways, claiming common country, common friends, and whatnot.

CHAPTER XII

INSTITUTIONAL ENEMIES: THE PULPIT AND THE PRESS

Frequent reference has been made to the enmity between Harrison and the institutions here under discussion, but it seems fitting that, in view of the important part they played in his political career, a special chapter should be devoted to them. The press and the pulpit were united in opposition, and yet Harrison triumphed over both. His technique in securing this triumph is the main point for study in this chapter.

I. THE PROTESTANT CLERGY

Few of the contemporary ministers had anything good to say of Carter Harrison; the great majority of them had many bad things to say about him. Even as he lay in death some could not allow him to lie in peace. Said Rev. I. J. Lansing: "If Carter Harrison was right in his policy toward lawbreakers, this murder, consistent with such a policy, is justified."¹ In the mayoralty campaign in 1883 the *Tribune*, the last Sunday before the election, exhorted the ministers as follows: "The clergymen of Chicago have a duty to perform today. They will be unfaithful to their sacred trusts if they fail to impress upon their congregations the importance of voting for the right on Tuesday. . . . It is a fight against vice, crime, debauchery, prostitution, and dishonest government. . . . The pulpit cannot afford to remain silent at such a time."²

The eloquent divines raised their voices in a manner high-

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (October 30, 1893), p. 9.

² *Ibid.* (April 1, 1883), editorial.

ly approved by those who had given this order. The pulpit hurled "its Anathemas Against Those Responsible for Crime in the City of Chicago." All the denominations down to and including the Swedenborgians were a unit. Rev. S. J. McPherson denounced the "Two Greatest Demagogues, Herod and Harrison." Dr. Lorimer, not to be outdone by the Rev. McPherson, told his flock that the voters of Chicago were to "shear not a sheep, but a wolf." Drs. Barrows, Hatfield, Henson, Fallows, Batchelor, Green, and others added to the formidable array of scathing sermons.¹

But Harrison also preached a "sermon," and that on the same day. If his congregation was not as trim and complacent as that of Rev. McPherson or Dr. Lorimer, it was more enthusiastic, and it certainly held its minister in high esteem. High spots in his discourse were to this effect: "Today one hundred clergymen will yell into the ears of the Lord praying for my soul; will ask the Lord to send Chicago honest and good officers on next Tuesday. On Wednesday, I will write to these gentlemen, saying: 'At least, Reverend sirs, your prayers are answered—I'm elected.'"² On the next day he again attacks the preachers, especially Rev. McPherson: "When a preacher puts on the garb of Christianity and utters a falsehood I will tear the garb from his body." [Cheers and cries of "Well done."] And then he says that preachers should stick to the Gospel: "You who go to the Church hard by [Holy Family], or over to the Cathedral of the Holy Name, or St. Jariath's, did you ever hear the priests talk politics? [Cries of "never."] When they get up they preach Jesus Christ and Him Crucified. Isn't that so?" [Cries of "yes."] There is probably a great deal of truth in what he says in this contention: "Do you know what is so outrageous to these preachers in my actions? It is that I have made this a Democratic city and put Democrats into office instead of

¹ *Ibid.* (April 2, 1883), p. 4.

² *Ibid.* (April 1, 1883), p. 9.

Republicans. [Applause and cries of "That's it."] That is a black crime. You bummers and reprobates get out of town; we Republicans want to keep it."¹

Again in the next election, though with abated fury, the pulpit assailed Harrison, and in his last campaign, in 1893, the preachers were out in force. Those ministers "who had come to Chicago after Carter Harrison last retired from office accepted as gospel the slanders of partisans, and strenuously called upon the members of their flocks to vote against this man lest the wrath of Heaven fall upon the city."²

After the heat of the campaign of 1883 he felt that he should make amends for his harsh words, and when he was sure that he had been elected, he made a speech to those who surrounded him. In a happy frame he spoke of his success and of what he was going to do, but:

Finally the eagle eyes became serious, the flushed face grew pale. He ceased his fervid flow, and talked calmly and deliberately. He said: "I am fifty-eight years of age. The best part of my life lies behind me. The grave is over yonder, not very far off, and the eternal future awaits me. I have reverence for religion, reverence for a good preacher, and reverence for the garb that clothes the man of God. I say to you, tell the preachers that they should let the politicians alone in their sermons; preach Christ and Him crucified, and let us bummers take care of the city."³

On other occasions he expressed very much the same sentiments. When not under strain and excitement, in spite of the constant hostility of the clerical profession, he admitted that most preachers were good and pious men, but that their calling cut them off from the means of acquiring facts, and that therefore they should stay out of politics.⁴

How much harm did the enmity of the pulpit do to Mr. Harrison's political career? Very little, if any. We have seen

¹ *Ibid.* (April 3, 1883), p. 2.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 206, 207.

³ *Chicago Daily News* (April 4, 1883), p. 1.

⁴ *Council Proceedings* (1887-88), p. 13.

that the Catholic church did not criticize him and that he commended the priests for keeping politics out of the pulpit. Of the Protestants, who were mostly of the Puritan type, how many of them would have voted for him anyhow? Their ministers might influence a few of the faithful to hate Harrison the more, but this would do the Mayor no particular harm. The vast majority of the "Unredeemed," the quasi-redeemed, and those who were indifferent about religion would be driven to Harrison's support by the undignified and sometimes absurd clerical denunciations. Then, too, how would the average citizen in Chicago be influenced, for instance, by a group of Congregational ministers who were too mean and petty to send a message of condolence to Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher when her husband lay at death's door?¹ The people of Chicago had never seen and never expected to see Carter H. Harrison display such an unbrotherly trait. And on whose side does Christian charity lie in the following case? A bill providing for high liquor license had been passed very suddenly and unexpectedly by the legislature. Carter Harrison did everything in his power to ease the force of this bill on the small saloon-keeper, arguing that many of them might have to close and thus be without a livelihood. The ministers joyfully received the bill, and one of their number gave those who were adversely affected by it the cheering news that the poorhouse would receive them with open arms.² Each reader may answer the question for himself; but there is certainly no question in the mind of anyone as to who, in the opinion of average Chicagoans, was "neighbor" to the underdog.

Harrison knew his crowd. He knew that ministers were not of his crowd, and never would be, regardless of his good

¹ *Chicago Times* (March 15, 1887), editorial. It is fair to say that the ministers did send a message at a later time.

² *Council Proceedings* (1883-84), pp. 43, 44.

or bad acts. He was quite willing to leave the members of this high profession alone, if they would leave him alone. When they stepped out to trouble him they were more ridiculous than useful, and without a doubt won him more votes than they took from him. These representatives of a Puritan element, always in the decided minority in a cosmopolitan city, could hardly create a ripple on the surface of Harrisonian domination.

The weakness in the ministers' position in attacking Harrison is pretty well revealed by the confessions of a veritable father in Israel who continues with us from those days. His sole objection to Harrison was that he did not seem to be careful enough in enforcing the laws for the protection of the youth. Otherwise, he positively stated, with a gleam in his eye, that the Mayor was a tower of strength in his office, that he was like the judge spoken of in the Good Book—he "sat in the gate."¹

II. THE NEWSPAPERS

We are now to consider a more persistent and noisy enemy, the press. This institution may lose individual campaigns, but it usually wins the war. Not so when it met Carter H. Harrison. In this case it lost nearly every campaign, suffering a most disastrous defeat in the last one, and practically capitulated. He made his campaigns sometimes with a small minority of the newspapers in his support, but usually with no appreciable support from these molders of public opinion except from the foreign-language newspapers, which supported him rather consistently. The great papers of Chicago were Republican organs and were always united in opposition. The Democratic papers supported him at times, but could not be counted on to follow him consistently. When he ran for Congress in 1876 he had no newspaper sup-

¹ Rev. F. F. Farmiloe, interview.

port.¹ When he retired from the mayoralty race in 1887 there was not a newspaper in Chicago to set him right.² A bolter in 1891, his sole newspaper support was a German daily.³ In his last, greatest, and most successful campaign, in 1893, he had only his own paper, the *Times*, and one other, the *Mail*,⁴ a paper with no considerable circulation. Yet he was elected mayor four times by large majorities; once by a small majority; was defeated only when he bolted; and many say he was cheated out of that election.⁵ How did it happen? That is the question which we attempt to answer in the remaining portion of this chapter. In doing so we are to consider the nature of the press attacks, Harrison's reaction to, and use of, the same, the part of the foreign-language press, and finally we are to see something of the way in which he used his own newspaper, having become a proprietor in 1891.

1. CHARACTER OF THE PRESS ATTACKS

Of course we would expect the newspapers to ridicule him for his vanity, to make fun of his oratory, to satirize him for saying he did not care to hold public office. Also it should be expected that the press would find out the location of his sore spots, keep them open and irritated as much as possible; that his good points should be systematically concealed or minimized, and his objectionable qualities played up and exaggerated; that the commendable features of his administration should be accredited to the foresight of his predecessors, to his assistants, or to chance, and that he should be held personally responsible for all that was bad. We are quite prepared to find the general allegations of fraud after each election, and a pious expression of fortitude typified by a sigh

¹ Biographical sketch in *In Memoriam*.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁴ Biographical sketch in *In Memoriam*.

⁵ Adolf Kraus, interview.

of resignation that after all the Chicagoans can be thankful that their mayor is not a common drunkard or a would-be murderer. All of this and much more of similar character is a part of the "great game of politics"—a legitimate weapon in the hands of a respectably partisan press. These slings and arrows are waiting for any man who enters public life; they are a part of the price one pays for riding the capricious steed of politics. But in the case of Carter H. Harrison the press went beyond the limits and overdid itself. "It is a singular fact," writes Willis Abbot, "and well worth the study of journalists, that the extreme and intemperate opposition of the newspapers seems never to have injured Harrison politically."¹

One newspaper charged him with personal responsibility for lawless acts committed at an election. Harrison instituted suit and secured apologies,² that particular paper's zeal having caused it to stray from the path of caution followed by another daily content to observe that "election frauds are of such insidious character that when they have been perpetrated there is no means of estimating their extent."³

The papers generally accused Carter Harrison of being responsible for all the filth in the whole community. One of the papers prints an article which the writer is tempted to match against all comers. It reeks with nastiness almost from beginning to end. The reporter was out studying the cess-pools of vice for which the Harrison administration was held responsible, and having entered a house which looked promising for his purpose, he "strolled toward the back part of the place and sat down. Presently a stout woman of a rather youthful appearance came out of a room behind and made some commonplace remarks to the reporter about the weather and an equally commonplace [one] about 'going upstairs.'"

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 138.

² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (April 4, 1883), editorial.

The article goes on to explain for the benefit of those who do not know the situation that under Harrisonian rule a large district has been permitted "to revel in crime, and its saloons, dives, doggeries, dago-shops, French houses, and houses of common prostitution are allowed to run their course in open defiance of the law." And then there were other places scattered about over the city where "all sorts of filthy blackguardism is carried on and criminals and prostitutes swarm like bees in a hive."¹

Granting the truth of all the foregoing, one might legitimately raise the question as to which was the greater offense to the decent citizenry of Chicago, the plague spots mentioned in the article, which spots the article admitted were not known to the average good citizen, or the article itself, which carried the stench to everyone's nostrils. A man of ordinary cleverness would have immediately countered along the line indicated. Carter Harrison did that and more. He carried the paper to the platform with him, pointed out advertising which was subversive of good morals, and asked his audience if such a paper had the moral welfare of Chicago at heart and if they were going to permit themselves to be governed by such an organ.² Besides, what broad-minded person would admit that all the sins of the city were chargeable to the Mayor? The charges went too far for most citizens, and they believed Harrison rather than the press.

The same sort of argument was brought forward by the press in connection with the gambling evil. Harrison was accused of wallowing with the "unclean beasts of his party, and therefore . . . unfit to be mayor."³ His surrender to Mike McDonald (the boss gambler) and the devil was characterized as "complete and irretrievable."⁴ Yet, as we saw

¹ *Ibid.* (April 1, 1883), p. 3.

² Ed. Prichard, interview.

³ *Chicago Daily News* (April 6, 1885), editorial.

⁴ *Ibid.* (April 1, 1885), editorial.

in the last chapter, he made Mike "crawl" on at least one occasion,¹ and Harrison's capitulation to his satanic majesty was far from unconditional in the popular mind.

Not only did the Republican journals have such things to say, but the Democratic papers probably went greater limits. In the spring of 1887, when Harrison's political future was dark, the Democratic *Times* said: "No elector that wishes to discontinue the reign of hell and Carter Harrison in Chicago will hesitate to vote for Roche,"² the Republican candidate. This journal had apparently turned against him because of his charity toward the socialists and anarchists, and had tossed in the reputed laxity toward vice for luck.³ In another editorial he is styled as Mr. Carter Benedict Arnold Harrison,⁴ and when he was running independent, in 1891, it was alleged that a certain piece of property belonged to "Carter Hoodoo Harrison. . . . The two upper stories of the building are used as an assignation house by the abandoned female night-prowlers of the pavement, and the place is an eyesore and a disgrace to the reputable business element of the neighborhood."⁵ An editorial on "Harrison the Renegade" urges that a vote for Harrison is treason to the Democratic party, and earnestly requests that "The Eagle" be permitted to return to his "buzzard's roost and collect his extortionate rents from his crazy tenements and vile dens."⁶

The insincerity of much of the hostility of the press is plain when we consider that the criticisms of the stalwart Republican newspapers changed almost to praise overnight when Harrison bolted the Democratic city convention. About the worst that is said of him in this campaign by the

¹ Colonel Chamberlin, interview.

² *Chicago Times* (March 25, 1887), editorial. This was before Harrison had resigned the candidacy, of course.

³ *Ibid.* (March 23, 1887), editorial.

⁴ *Ibid.* (April 5, 1887), editorial.

⁵ *Ibid.* (April 4, 1891), p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.* (April 7, 1891), editorial.

Republican organs is that Chicago needed a younger man for mayor. "There was a time when Carter Harrison, mounted on his Kentucky mare, was one of the frequent sights of Chicago. He did have a good geographical knowledge of the smaller city of his day. . . . Harrison, however, is past sixty-six now. His equestrian days on blooded mares are over."¹ Then, after the election, Harrison's "gallant stand against a tyrannical machine," is further praised.² Two years later, when he was again the regular Democratic nominee, he was once more proclaimed as an associate of the vilest and most lawless elements in the city.

The press war on Harrison spread to other cities. In the 1883 campaign we have the *Cleveland Leader*, for instance, joining in the chorus. Said that daily: "Harrison will doubtless receive the solid support of the thieves, sandbaggers, gamblers, and similar enemies of society, and every effort is being made to unite decent, law-abiding citizens against him . . . an enthusiastic fight is being made . . . by the united press of the city."³ A case of this kind gives color to Mayor Harrison's charge, which we shall consider presently, that the press the country over considered it its fraternal duty to rally to the support of the brethern in Chicago who were hard pressed by a mighty antagonist.⁴

Making some allowance for the influence of close association with Mr. Harrison, the writer is inclined to consider Willis Abbot's⁵ account of the press opposition as reasonably accurate. He writes:

. . . The methods of the allied press were those of wanton slander and flippant ridicule. The biting satires of Charles Dickens on American journalism were more than justified by the course of Chicago newspapers

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 1, 1891), editorial. ² *Ibid.* (April 8, 1891), editorial.

³ Quoted in *ibid.* (April 1, 1883), p. 5.

⁴ *Council Proceedings* (1887-88), p. 14.

⁵ He edited Harrison's own newspaper, the *Chicago Times*.

in this campaign. One great journal daily presented its readers with caricatures of Mr. Harrison clad in the garb of a clown with cogwheels in his head, supposed to indicate his condition of senile lunacy. He was charged with every sin in the political calendar, his supporters were covered with abusive epithets, his speeches were ridiculed, his meetings systematically written down. If abuse could ruin a politician, Harrison would have been destroyed. If ridicule could have driven him out of town, he would have fled. Neither truth, decency, nor common sense was permitted by editors of the opposition press to stand in the way of their malice. From their impassioned appeals one might have thought the city in danger of an invasion worse than one of Goths and Vandals. They demanded, rather than advised, the defeat of this man, held over the people the whip of the slave-driver rather than the torch of the guide. . . . The subscribers to five of the six morning newspapers saw Harrison daily described as an associate of gamblers, a conscienceless politician, a weak-minded and insanely egotistic old man. . . .¹

2. EFFECT OF NEWSPAPER ABUSES

Yet Harrison was elected by an overwhelming majority in this very campaign. The intemperate carplings of the newspapers turned many good citizens to Harrison's support. Here is a typical case: Mr. William S. Johnson, who was characterized as "a former stalwart Republican of the Eleventh Ward," was introduced as chairman of a meeting. "We are here tonight," said he in the start, "as Democrats and Republicans, irrespective of party affiliations, to pay our respects to an old white-haired neighbor of ours who has been attacked by the press of this city with an avalanche of abuse. He has been called a blackleg and a thief. Insult and vituperation have been heaped upon him. We intend to resent those insults and injuries at the polls tomorrow. To us Carter H. Harrison is the same gentleman and neighbor that he was when he was given a great ovation by the citizens of Chicago a few years ago on his return from Europe. The papers praised him then as an honest citizen; they heap abuse on him now."²

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 205, 206.

² Quoted in *Inter-Ocean* (April 4, 1893), p. 2.

There is hardly any room to doubt that the enmity of the press actually helped Harrison in his local campaigns. As much as he felt the sting of journalistic flagellations, he was at the front in conceding their advantage to him. But if we look beyond the local area it is quite likely that he was injured. He had political ambitions which extended beyond the city limits. With the newspapers of Chicago carrying only hard words for him, and the papers of other cities quoting from them during the exciting campaigns, it is probably not incorrect to conclude that Carter Harrison attained more notoriety than fame outside the city of Chicago.

3. HARRISON'S COUNTER-ATTACKS

We are now to consider in a little more detail Harrison's methods in counteracting the influence of the press. First and foremost we must place the man himself. He was able to get himself before the public. The people all saw him, knew him, heard him speak. He did not look at all like what the papers described. He did not appear ridiculous, or crazy, or dishonest. Nor did he look like an associate of gamblers and lawbreakers. He appeared simply as a distinguished and entertaining gentleman who knew what he was about. Those who saw him were ready to give him a hearing, and the battle was half won.

He avoided defensive warfare as much as possible. He pushed upon the enemy and seized its weapons. He made a careful study of the opposition newspapers and used them with great effect. His use of the *Tribune's* prophecy of 1879, when he accepted the second nomination for the mayoralty in 1881, is a classic, and must have been wormwood and gall to that journal's seer of evil days. We quote from the account given by the *Times*:

The Mayor opened the *Tribune* file of 1879 and read as follows: "The election of Mayor Harrison means that city

scrip now worth from 92 to 94 cents will be brought down to 62 cents on the dollar. [Laughter and applause.]" The Mayor then went on to show that while his predecessor had been forced to issue nearly two millions and a half in scrip, his administration had reduced it to \$1,250,000 the first year, cut it pretty nearly in half the second year, and would be entirely free from it the third year. Obviously, what little scrip was issued was not declining in value.

Mayor Harrison read further from the same sheet: "The election of Carter Harrison means that our bonds, now so handsomely above par (between 111 and 113) will be reduced below par." The Mayor exclaimed in contempt and scorn, "Newspaper prophecies!" His hearers roared with laughter, and he continued: "What are the facts today? Those same bonds are worth 123 to 127, and our 4½ per cent bonds, which the bankers said last July we could not float, are today bearing a premium of 7 per cent. Our 4 per cent bonds are today selling at 3 per cent premium, and we have today in our office, or on its way from New York, the proceeds of \$700,000 of those bonds already paid for. . . . Now I will read from the *Tribune* of Sunday, March 30, 1879, the Lord's day [Laughter]":

[Reading]: How would the people of Chicago like to see the commissioner of public works removed to give place to Miles Kehoe?¹ [Cheers and laughter.] "Where is Miles?" [Laughter and cheers.] He has not gone "where the woodbine twineth," but I will tell you where you will find him—down there in the employment of the republican party at the postoffice. Miles is all right. I am merely telling you what the *Tribune* thought of him two years ago. . . . [Cheers and laughter.]²

This was so effective that he improved the introduction somewhat and used it throughout that campaign. The im-

¹ Miles was a "character." Formerly a Democrat, he was angered because Harrison would not appoint him to important office, and went over to the Republicans.

² *Chicago Times* (March 27, 1881), p. 12.

provement consisted of a statement that Joe Medill, having two years before tried his hand at prophesying, had now turned to lying.¹

When Harrison was charged with the corruption of the city he made answer that the press, not the Mayor, was responsible for it. He denied that Chicago was worse than any other city, and skilfully pointed out that the press of Chicago had given the metropolis of the West its undeserved bad name, sacrificing the reputation of the city for the partisan purpose of overthrowing its mayor. Quoting from his message of 1887:

For several years past the partisan press of Chicago has held it up before the eyes of the world as if it were unfit for honorable men to live in—where life was unsafe—where crime stalked about in broad daylight, and the garroter and sandbagger were watching at night to strike down the unwary, and the Mayor was the cause of all this terrible social sinfulness. To destroy the Mayor, whose crime was that he held a great party composed of men of various and somewhat antagonistic nationalities, in solid phalanx—to destroy him, this beautiful city was made a hissing by-word for crime and debauchery. The Mayor was a man who might be killed, but who struck back when receiving the fatal blow. He struck those who attacked him, and with an *esprit de corps* which makes a newspaper fight any one who hits one of their class, other newspapers, who ought to have tried to see fair play, made it a sort of fraternal duty to turn upon the man who had courage to fight his own battles. . . . They quoted from our papers to prove that Chicago was a modern Sodom and Gomorrah, and all because of its Mayor. This Mayor has been pictured as the boon companion of gamblers, the habitue of low haunts and of places of vile resort, and the debaucher of public morals, and all of this by newspapers whose columns have teemed with every nastiness which could make them attractive to a depraved taste. The editors defend themselves by saying they would not publish such things if readers did not desire it. The saloonkeeper who fills the inebriate has the same excuse. In both cases vice is fed upon the ailment furnished, and that ailment is given out for gold. . . .²

¹ *Ibid.* (April 3, 1881), p. 8.

² *Council Proceedings* (1887-88), p. 14.

While those with a highly sensitive social conscience might not be entirely satisfied with Harrison's line of attack, it is clear enough that Mr. Average Citizen would be willing to concede that the Mayor had convicted the press, or at least proved that it "was another," which is by no means a bad argument from the political standpoint. The charge that the press of Chicago gave the city a bad name is one frequently made by Harrison, and in this charge logic looms large.

In his last campaign Harrison used the "pressocracy" argument with great success. He refers to the press in all his speeches and asked the people to vote it down. He made the people believe that a group of newspapers were trying to usurp the powers of government in Chicago. He told them that the country and state each had bills of rights, and by those documents the people were freemen, and that if they wished to continue so they must vote down the pressocracy.¹ They did it with a vengeance; and having done it, some of the less even-tempered of them displayed decided inclinations to smash a few of the anti-Harrison newspaper offices by way of finishing up the good work. Ever master of the crowd, the triumphant old gentleman calmed them down and succeeded in having them disperse.²

While he used the press to his advantage by showing its follies, inconsistencies, and occasional false statements, at the same time, as we have already observed, he was easily infuriated by it. This led him to combat it on all occasions—sometimes where such action could do him little good and where unkind references were in bad taste. In nearly all of his annual messages he has his fling at the press, and in his inaugural addresses he fights the campaign over again. Even in his ordinary official papers he makes frequent allusions to, and sometimes direct charges against, his enemy. He refers

¹ *Chicago Times* (April 2, 1893), p. 2.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 216, 217.

to the "partisan newspapers" and their "vile calumnies"; to the "partisan press," "whose columns have teemed with every nastiness";¹ to the "reckless press," which "foully slandered and shamelessly abused" him;² to the press which fattened by blackmailing character; to the sensational press which easily alarmed the people; to the "licentious press," the "prostitute and lying newspaper,"³ and so on through the whole list of hard names. In his "valedictory" in 1887 he expressed "his disapprobation of the criticisms of the press"⁴ in some thirteen different places in his message. His tactics in these messages may not have been a total loss from the political standpoint when we consider that the great journals were bound to print such messages in full. They might be refuted or ridiculed in the editorial column, but the message was there, and the reader saw what Harrison had to say for himself.

4. HIS FRIENDS, THE REPORTERS

However unpleasant his relations may have been with the great dailies and their publishers and editors, his association with the reporters was to his delight and profit. There is no tradition that he ever threatened to horsewhip a reporter, while there is a persistent story that he did promise a flippant editor nothing less. He had a great time with the reporters. He joked with them, kidded them about the way they ridiculed him in their write-ups, expressed his sympathy because they had to work for such villain publishers and editors, and was always a "hale fellow well met" with them. The reporters loved to interview him, and to be sent on a trip with him was always considered a windfall. Regardless of what sort of account the paper might give of Harrison, it was a pretty

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1887-88), pp. 14 ff.

² *Ibid.* (1893-94), p. 40.

³ Quoted in Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

⁴ *Chicago Evening Journal* (April 19, 1887), p. 3.

safe bet that the reporter who wrote it honored him with his suffrage. If this strikes the reader as strange, the words of a young newspaper man, "Why, a reporter has to sell himself to the devil anytime," should render him more credulous.

A lucky young man had been selected by one of the leading newspapers to accompany Mayor Harrison on a trip on which the Mayor was to address the farmers. He was given his instructions at the newspaper office and then told to go to the City Hall and make the necessary arrangements with Mr. Harrison. The Mayor gave him a hearty welcome; said he was glad to have him go along. Then he said in effect: "Now they told you over at your headquarters to go along with the old man and make a fool of him in any way you can. He will tell the farmers that he is a farmer, and you ought to be able to make something good out of that." He went on at this rate, and the young man stated that his superiors might just as well have told him to get all his instructions from Carter Harrison. The Mayor concluded: "Well, that is all right. You go ahead and do it. It will all be good for me. I know how you stand and I know how your father stands. You will both vote for me on election day, and that satisfies me."¹

5. HARRISON AS A NEWSPAPER PUBLISHER

A man of fortune and political ambitions with no English-language organ to consistently champion his cause, Carter H. Harrison quite naturally became the proprietor of a substantial newspaper. His biographer, Mr. Abbot, who was also editor of Harrison's paper, the *Chicago Times*, claims that the purchase was not made for political purposes. In view of Harrison's known political ambitions and of the statements of a member of his family, the writer must wholly dissent from the view expressed by the loyal editor. Entering the field of journalism late in life, it is not to be expected

¹ Colonel Chamberlin, interview.

that Harrison should win any laurels in that line of endeavor. Further than that, we make bold to assent that the world did not suffer because he did not choose such a career as a young man. It is not unfair to say that as an editor or writer Carter Harrison was a good orator. He never dictated an article in the ordinary way, but delivered it to a stenographer in oratorical form. Whether he wrote or spoke, the flavor of oratory was strong. A stranger and alien to the art of condensation, and hardly less so to terse expression, he was seriously handicapped by limited space. He soon gave up the idea of writing for his paper, leaving that almost entirely to others.¹

Shortly after he bought the paper he turned it over to his sons,² though of course the policy of the paper was always the policy of the father. He preached bimetallism and Henry Clay Whig protection in the columns of his journal. He opposed the sentiment for Cleveland's nomination in 1892, arguing that a more liberal man from the West or Northwest should be nominated.³ But the support he gave Cleveland through his paper after the former president had been renominated would serve as a model for party regularity.⁴

In the local campaign of 1893 it would seem that Harrison's paper was held in restraint, not stooping to the methods employed by the allied opposition press. Says Mr. Abbot:

. . . . He was a stickler for dignity, decency, and truth in newspapers. Personal journalism he abhorred. The torrent of abuse, invective, and epithet discharged upon him by the opposition press had not so blunted his sympathies as to make him connive for one moment at the use of like methods of attack on his rivals. In the campaign of 1893, when the virulence of the attacks of the allied opposition press upon him surpassed in

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 200; Mrs. Owsley, interview.

² *Chicago Tribune* (October 31, 1893), p. 2.

³ There is no doubt as to where Harrison would have stood had he lived to 1896.

⁴ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 202.

degree anything ever before seen in a political campaign, he positively forbade the printing of any personal abuse of his opponent in the *Times* . . . his unvarying good-nature and ready sympathy made it impossible for him to understand why any news should be printed which might in any way give pain to the people concerned. . . .¹

In the campaign the *Times* made its fight on the "news-paper oligarchy," holding up before the public the five journals which it alleged were comprised in that group. It contained all of Harrison's important campaign speeches, with the touches that such a journal would be expected to give. It had some fun at the expense of Harrison's opponent, Mr. Allerton, especially over that gentleman's difficulty with the English language. It published letters showing defection of prominent citizens from the Republican and "Citizens" ranks, or from the labor cohorts.² For the latter the *Times* seems to have been called on at least one occasion. The workman in question sent his denial to the *Inter-Ocean*:

To Workingmen and the Public Generally: I desire in this public manner to deny the assertion made in the Chicago *Times* of yesterday to the effect that "I could see nothing else to be done in the interest of organized labor than to vote for Carter Harrison." I have never held any such sentiments, and consequently could say nothing of the kind. I believe that the welfare of the workingmen of all classes would be promoted by the election of DeWitt C. Cregier, an honest man, an upright citizen, and a friend of the struggling poor. Carter Harrison deserves to be defeated for the unwarranted use of the names of respectable citizens, ascribing to them opinions repugnant to their sense of decency and manhood. Scratch him.³

FRANK A. KIDD

The *Abendpost* indignantly protests because a paid advertisement which Harrison was running in that paper was reprinted in the *Times* in such a manner as to give the im-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 201.

² See most any issue around April 1, 1893.

³ *Inter-Ocean* (April 4, 1893), p. 2. Coming, as it did, so near the election, this letter may not be genuine.

pression that it represented the opinion of the *Abendpost*.¹ Certainly there is evidence that the *Times* could play a few campaign tricks, but in general, as Mr. Abbot says, it was free from the grosser forms of personal abuse.

Harrison's paper was no doubt a great advantage to him in his last campaign. It was one of two papers which supported him, and the one which had the larger circulation. Through it he received fair accounts of his meetings and whatever other help the owner of a journal might desire when a candidate for public office. Once when he had difficulty in distributing the issues of his paper he resorted to wheelbarrows in order to supply the demand.² Whatever may have been the financial losses incurred by the acquisition of the *Times*, there is no reason for thinking that the owner of it suffered a political handicap through its possession.

6. FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS

Any discussion of Harrison and the newspapers would be inadequate unless some mention were made of the foreign-language organs in Chicago. We saw in the last chapter that the foreign-born population was for Harrison by a handsome majority, and it is but natural that their newspapers should reflect the same sentiments. There were some twenty German dailies and weeklies,³ with a circulation aggregating 125,000, which were active in politics.⁴ Of course not all of these

¹ *Ibid.* (March 29, 1893), p. 2.

² Colonel Chamberlin, interview.

³ Some of the more important were:

	Circulation
<i>Deutsche Warte</i>	25,000
<i>Staats-Zeitung</i> (daily)	20,400
<i>Staats-Zeitung</i>	32,250
<i>Der Westen</i> (Sunday)	27,700
<i>Neue Freie Presse</i> (daily)	7,030
<i>Neue Freie Presse</i>	8,000

⁴ *American Newspaper Annual* (1886), p. 764.

subscribers were residents of Chicago, but it is probable that at least half of them were. The greater number of these papers had originally been Republican or Independent with Republican leanings, but Republicanism, when it came to be tinged with Puritanism and Sabbatarianism, was not altogether to their liking; so that it fell out that some of these journals left the Republican party outright and that more of them forsook the Republican standard on local issues. The *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, one of the widely read and most politically inclined of the German publications, furnishes a good illustration of this process. A. C. Hesing, its publisher, had been a Republican, but he broke with that party in 1876 and made his paper Independent. His son and successor, Washington Hesing, was a strong Democrat, a supporter of Harrison, except when the editor was himself a candidate, in 1893.¹

There were Swedish and Norwegian newspapers almost as numerous as the German, but with smaller circulation.² These were regularly listed as Republican, though a number of them supported Harrison. Then we must not leave out the Bohemian and Polish press, which published five or six newspapers with a circulation of about sixteen thousand.³ These publications sailed under Independent banners, but they leaned toward the Democratic party and were especially cordial toward Carter H. Harrison.

Taken as a whole, the foreign press in Chicago was a Harrison press,⁴ although it is not true, as is sometimes stated, that he was unanimously supported by the foreign-language news organs. The *Neue Freie Presse* opposed him in his gubernatorial campaign in 1884, and we have already noted that the *Staats-Zeitung* was bitter against him during his last

¹ *Inter-Ocean*, "History of Chicago," p. 79.

² *American Newspaper Annual* (1886), p. 767.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 768, 769.

⁴ Adolf Kraus, interview.

campaign for the mayoralty. Then too it has been observed that the smaller foreign-language papers are not infrequently the victims of personal journalism, and that advertising space has been known to decide the politics of some of these papers in particular campaigns. An editor or publisher with a grudge could easily vent his spleen on Carter Harrison, and a liberal purchase of advertising space might temporarily turn one of these journals into a spokesman for the opposition. Such opposition would, of course, not be deeply rooted and would carry no great weight, leaving the man who understood the Americans-by-choice and who advocated the liberty they loved in possession of the substantial part of the press which molded and expressed their political sentiments.

SUMMARY

A cavalier among Puritans, Harrison was not popular with the Protestant ministers. The ministers had no sympathy with Harrison's liberal policy on social and moral questions, and he had no regard for them and their long list of prohibitions and restrictions. In his speeches he answered the preachers hotly, but in his actions he ignored them, preferring to strengthen himself with the non-church people and the Catholics, which groups held the overwhelming majority and from which he regularly drew his support.

The press of Chicago was predominantly Republican, and nothing was more logical than that it should bitterly attack a popular Democratic mayor. Harrison's vanity and oddities and independence made him a target even for the Democratic press. The unfair treatment accorded him by the press enraged him and caused him to strike back on all occasions, sometimes with telling effect. Although the ridicule and criticism of the newspapers injured Harrison's standing outside of Chicago, the majority of the electorate in the city did not take the press seriously, and they continued to honor Har-

rison with their suffrage. The foreign-language newspapers were usually supporters of Harrison; and when we remember that he relied heavily upon the foreign-born for votes, it is easy to see how the friendship of their newspapers offset to a considerable degree the hostility of the great Chicago dailies.

In order to make sure of the support of at least one English-language newspaper, Harrison purchased the *Chicago Times*, which he used with great effect in the mayoralty campaign of 1893. While the *Times* was intensely partisan during that campaign, it was free from the grosser abuses for which Harrison bitterly arraigned the other newspapers.

CHAPTER XIII

LEGISLATIVE LEADERSHIP

Up to this point we have been considering primarily the direct means the leader employed in order to gain success in his political campaigns; in this and a succeeding chapter we are to turn our attention to his conduct in office. Leaders of the type of William Jennings Bryan, not having spent a great deal of time in public office, must be judged almost entirely by their purely political activities; but those who, like the subject of this study, have spent a considerable span of years in office are entitled to a weighing of those years before a final estimate of the character of their leadership is attempted. That a public man can be divided into politician and officeholder would be pretty generally denied, but there are sufficient differences to justify us in making a separate analysis of his official career. Carter Harrison was in office about seventeen years; more than half of this time he spent in the major office of mayor. By an examination of his record as mayor we ought to be able to find out whether he was a leader in administration as well as in politics, and, more important, how much his official career counted for his political success. Our problem falls very conveniently into two parts, namely, legislative and administrative. The former is the subject of this chapter; the latter is treated in the next chapter.

No better view is given of Harrison's technique of leadership than is presented by a review of his relations with his Council over which, as Mayor, it was his duty to preside. The city's legislative body in his day was not known primarily for its freedom from corruption, its economy, its disinterestedness, its painstaking care in legislative matters, or

for its high sense of duty or civic righteousness. It had, however, gained some notoriety on account of the absence of these qualities. The members of the body received very little compensation for their services, and many, no doubt, felt no moral qualms about "turning a dishonest penny" on this account. Be that as it may, there is little room for doubt that fortunes were improved at the expense of honest government and at the expense of those who had to ask favors of the city. Mayor Harrison admitted that the majority of his Council was corrupt;¹ nor were his eyes closed to the temptations to which they were exposed, as is illustrated by the following: "Virtuous and moral railroad men who are or seem to be patterns of piety and virtue do not appear to think their chances for a happy eternity at all jeopardized by letting someone spend their money to corrupt legislation."² Special interests were represented in the Council. This is noticeable in the case of the saloons; and such representatives were not always above reproach. A typical indictment of one of the saloon-keeper members reads: "We regard Julius Jonas as the worst man who ever sat in the Common Council, and the worst candidate for re-election thereto now before the people. . . . He has more brains and no more conscience than Hildreth, or Lawler, or Riodan, and is therefore more dangerous."³

It is not the part of this study to give a complete picture of the Council or councils of that day, but it is considered necessary to indicate that the body upon which Mayor Harrison had to rely, in common with similar bodies of the time, was not a model of probity, and, being subject to temptation, often succumbed.

Turning now to the subject of the chapter, the Mayor's

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (April 1, 1883), editorial.

² *Council Proceedings* (1883-84), p. 285. See also *ibid.* (1882-83), p. 2.

³ *Chicago Tribune* (April 1, 1883), editorial.

relations with his Council, we may for convenience of treatment divide the subject as follows: (1) the presiding officer, (2) the executive veto, (3) other messages, and (4) general technique in dealing with the Council.

I. PRESIDING OFFICER

We need not be detained long on the first point. He was considered a good presiding officer, making it a point to post himself on parliamentary law.¹ He was rather positive in his rulings, especially after he became sure of himself. In his last inaugural he said: "I ask, too, that you will bear with me in presiding over you. If I make mistakes in parliamentary rules, it will be mistakes of the head and not of the heart; and being a somewhat positive man, I expect to be tolerably positive in my rulings. I will ask you not too often to appeal from the Mayor's decision."²

When he first presided, the Council was reluctant about giving him a free hand. His second ruling was successfully appealed from,³ though it is noticeable that his decisions were challenged less often when the Mayor and his Council became better acquainted. His right to appoint committees was at first denied, but later permitted.⁴ He was jealous of the prerogatives of his office, and his determination to assert them generally overcome aldermanic opposition.

He regarded himself as a member of the Council and he took his duties seriously, seldom missing a session of the body.⁵ He would sit in his chair with an unlighted cigar in

¹ Mr. McGaffee, reading clerk, interview.

² *Council Proceedings* (1893-94), p. 41.

³ *Ibid.* (1879-80), pp. 9, 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵ The Council once voted him a vacation for his devotion to duty. His record in attending council meetings was probably broken only by his son, who, during twelve years as mayor of Chicago, is reported to have attended every meeting of the Council.

his hand; often he would seem to doze; but when the moment came for action he was wide awake and knew exactly what had been going on. We should note also that he never troubled the legislative body with special sessions unless there was no way of avoiding one, and he urged the Council to complete its business at the regular sessions.¹ This indicates that the Mayor had some consideration for his co-workers, was not the man to annoy them with petty matters at odd times, and had a systematic way of presenting his policies to the Council.

II. THE EXECUTIVE VETO

In his use of the veto power Mayor Harrison was not sparing. He returned some hundred ordinances and orders to the Council without his approval, and few of them could then muster sufficient majorities to gain the breath of life. For the sake of clearness we may subdivide his veto as follows: (1) finance, (2) utilities, (3) others, and (4) general characteristics.

1. VETOES OF APPROPRIATION ORDINANCES

Although running the risk of incurring the enmity of the whole "tax-eating fraternity," he placed his disapproval on several items of the first appropriation bill that was presented to him. He explained that the floating debt should be taken care of by savings, and that it would be little short of criminal to spend the money that had been saved from the past year. He pointed out that it was only by rigid economy that Chicago could be saved from scrip, the "dishonored paper," the "badge of disgrace." At the same time he indicated his disapproval of salary increases.² In another appropriation veto, speaking his determination to follow the rule of economy and stay rid of the "blot of scrip," he said: "If nec-

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1893-94), p. 40.

² *Ibid.* (1879-80), pp. 539 ff.

essary to bring this about I will discharge every man whose salary has been raised, and reappoint him or appoint someone else at a salary which will be permitted by the levy. This will be a painful duty, but it will be one I cannot avoid. Many of the salaries raised have, I am assured by the beneficiaries, been so done without their knowledge or request, and such are ready to release the city at once.”¹

The Council was never disposed to follow him quite the whole way on the question of keeping the salaries down, but the general policy of the Mayor prevailed. He fought stubbornly, using his veto, to keep down the extravagance of the school board. In this also he met with considerable success.² Now and then he would throw in an expression for public consumption when he vetoed an appropriation item, as when he wrote, “Taxes are the coinage of the poor man’s sweat.”³ Such moves no doubt tended to line up support for the Mayor’s policy outside of the Council chambers. Ever harping on the tune of economy, phenomenally successful in restoring the credit of the city, the Council found that it could ill afford to present strenuous opposition to the Mayor’s financial policies.

Not only did he use the “knife” on items in the regular appropriation bills, but he was eternally vigilant of the minutest special appropriation ordinances. The Council wished to make a small gift to the widow of a fireman who had lost his life in such a manner as to win universal sympathy. Said the Mayor in his veto message: “You have no more right to vote money for mere charity than you have to throw it into the lake.”⁴ While the language of this message seems a little harsh, the principle laid down is sound. A judge who bought a new chair without observing the proper formalities was obliged to settle for the chair out of his own pocket, for Mr.

¹ *Ibid.* (1883–84), p. 516.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 570.

² *Ibid.* (1879–80), pp. 570 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1884–85), p. 309.

Harrison, in his veto message, said that a judge should be the last one to violate any rule of procedure.¹ Such vetoes were commonly sustained by substantial majorities, the logic and singleness of purpose of the Mayor generally prevailing over the sentiment of the Council.

2. CHECKING GRANTS TO PUBLIC UTILITIES COMPANIES

Equal in importance with his vetoes of appropriations are his attempts to restrain public utilities corporations by the use of the veto power. His ideas of corporations as expressed in such messages are those of the Middle West liberal of his day. He refers to them as "soulless" and "money loving,"² "grinding monopolies," "big monsters" "with capacious maws,"³ etc. It is impossible to take all of these tragic expressions at their face value if we remember that Carter Harrison was able to deal with the "monsters" as a practical business man and when we consider that political support from the "soulless" ones was often forthcoming. We are led to conclude that a great deal of this was intended for public consumption. It is hard to believe that he was opposed to corporations, or even monopolies, per se. At any rate he dealt with them in a very common-sense and business-like way. He conferred with their directors, honestly attempting to arrive at agreements which would be to the mutual advantage of the city and the companies concerned. He attempted to protect the city's interest; but he was fully aware of the value of these corporations to the city's development.⁴

He did fight the utilities companies and the Council for the full value of a franchise. He brought the Council to task roundly for not incorporating in a track concession ordinance provisions that the company should pay for the franchise by bearing an equitable cost of improvements, or by putting in

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

² *Ibid.* (1882-83), p. 2.

³ *Ibid.* (1881-82), p. 234.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1883-84), pp. 353 ff.; (1884-85), pp. 617 ff.

services on streets where they were needed, even though such extension would mean a loss to the company on those particular streets.¹ He vetoed an ordinance giving a street car company the right to use a street tunnel because the company was not to be required to pay full value for the privilege.²

His opposition to long-time grants was often expressed, and he saw and approved the trend of judicial decision in the direction of strict construction of corporation grants in favor of the public.³ He stood out against long-time and improvident grants because he saw the damage which had already been done to the city by them. In a characteristic message vetoing an ordinance intended to give a railroad company the privilege of laying tracks in the city he said: "Twenty-five years ago Brown street was a wet prairie, yet it is already in the midst of a teeming population. . . . When the Lake Shore and Rock Island companies came down Clark Street, that part of the street was supposed to be out in a worthless prairie, and where the depot now stands was a wild duck pond. The crossing of many streets by these roads on grade is now terribly destructive to business interests and dangerous to life." He objected to the ordinance in question because it was a grant in perpetuity and because there was no clause in it which protected the city, except that convenient crossings were to be maintained.⁴ He had a vision of a greater Chicago, and he saw clearly that grants which caused the city little inconvenience at the time would be most serious handicaps to its development and a menace to the safety and convenience of its future citizens. His forward point of view in these matters was not appreciated by the Council, the result being that the most valuable concessions were given to railway companies for tracks and termi-

¹ *Ibid.* (1885-86), pp. 517 ff.

³ *Ibid.* (1883-84), p. 115.

² *Ibid.* (1886-87), p. 201.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 364 ff.

nals with scant consideration for the future needs of Chicago.¹

Mayor Harrison differed with his Council on the question of the proper location for telegraph and telephone wires. He early started a fight to get them underground. In language which makes one smile he vetoes an overhead permit to a telegraph company: "Chicago is architecturally one of the most beautiful of cities. Its streets are lined with business houses and residences vieing in splendor with the palaces of princes and nobles in other lands. . . . The stranger visiting our city is amazed at its splendor, but has his eye pained by the long rows of gaunt poles. . . . These poles, nearly as tall as the monarchs of the forest, are not adorned by leafy beauty, but by crossbars resembling hangman's gibbets."² He was more successful in bringing his legislative colleagues to his point of view on the wire nuisance than he was on the track nuisance. In the former the difference soon came to be solely on the question as to how soon the wires should be forced underground.³

3. GENERAL USE OF THE VETO POWER

Turning now to his general use of the veto power, we find that it covered a wide range, and that it was almost invariably used in a most practical and commendable way. This accounts for the fact, no doubt, that his vetoes were seldom overridden by the Council. Choosing almost at random, we find him disapproving an ordinance for a bridge because it will interfere with commerce by water which "was originally the making of Chicago."⁴ At another time he vetoes an ordinance calling for all hotels to provide ropes in each room for fire escapes. He very sensibly explains that hotels might fur-

¹ Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-5.

² *Council Proceedings* (1881-82), p. 233.

³ *Ibid.* (1882-83), pp. 2, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1885-86), p. 194.

nish other means equally, if not more, satisfactory, and that the safety of guests could be amply guaranteed if it were left to the fire marshal to approve the type of fire escape provided by the hotels.¹ In still another instance he shows his knowledge of dogs and gives the Council a lesson on canines. "This ordinance is objectionable, for any muzzle which prevents a dog from opening his mouth and lolling [his] tongue is injurious to the animal, as it shuts down the safety valve provided by nature when the dog is heated and exhausted. The direct tendency of such a measure is to make the dog sick, and such sickness may run into hydrophobia."²

Many of his vetoes represent cases of checking up on the mistakes of the Council, or even corrections of clerical errors. The "southwest" corner should have read "southeast" corner, or "a license fee" should have read "an annual license fee," etc.³ His capacity for detail and his conscientious application to duty are well illustrated by his use of the veto power.

4. CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS VETOES

His vetoes have certain characteristics which we might do well to notice. In criticism of one such message a newspaper made the statement that it "was a characteristically long and diffuse document."⁴ His vetoes of important ordinances were usually long, but less often diffuse. It is rather plain that he knew exactly what he wanted to say, although he was sometimes careless of the way in which he constructed his message. One message contains long, practical, and legal objections and concludes with "certain other points."⁵ In vetoing an unwise provision for a drainage survey he shows

¹ *Ibid.* (1882-83), pp. 369, 370.

² *Ibid.* (1884-85), p. 5.

³ *Ibid.* (1883-84), p. 363; (1882-83), p. 319.

⁴ *Chicago Morning News* (December 6, 1881), p. 1.

⁵ *Council Proceedings* (1885-86), p. 301.

that he is conscious of his fault: "While expressing a perfect willingness to make such expenditures, permit me, at the cost of being somewhat prolix, to add something more upon the subject."¹ Yet, taken as a whole, his veto messages were short, to the point, and often contained a little humor.

The orator comes to the front in some of his messages. This is evident to one who reads his veto of the ordinance which was to have granted an electric lighting company the privilege of erecting poles. He proceeds: "I need not call your attention to the fact that electricity is the most subtle, powerful and arbitrary of all the known forces of nature. The thunder's deep roll inspires all men with a feeling of awe; its sudden clap fills the bravest with a species of fear. Heaven's deep-mouthed artillery is heard close by only in the midst of the storm. . . ."² This was his opening gun. These flights were not of frequent occurrence, and when they did occur it is doubtful if they impaired the effect of his vetoes.

It was the custom of the Mayor to show in his veto messages just what alterations should be made in the proposed ordinances in order that they might meet with his approval. His veto of the order calling for a drainage survey commission, which he approved in principle, contains some very interesting and business-like criticisms and proposals, as follows: "Another objection to your order is that it appropriates \$30,000 but permits each commissioner to receive not more than \$5,000. As you do not designate anyone to fix the salary within this limitation, it would be determined by the commissioners themselves, who would, unless five saints should be evolved, take the bottom dollar," which would leave only \$5,000 for expenses—utterly inadequate. Furthermore, while \$5,000 a year would command any number of self-styled experts, it is not more than half enough to

¹ *Ibid.* (1883-84), pp. 283 ff.

² *Ibid.* (1882-83), p. 1.

command such talent as would win the respect of the people. He then recommended one commissioner at \$10,000 a year who should be authorized to choose his own assistants. "If this be the result, \$30,000 will be well spent, and the people will thank you." Then he added: "Five poor experts would be worse than worthless; five able ones would be in each other's way. It would be much wiser to select one able man and give the other four good salaries to mind their own business."

On the proper method to be employed in selecting experts, he said:

The experience of the past has taught that large bodies of men, however intelligent, are not always apt to select the most skilled experts. . . . Individual responsibility is more reliable for such purposes than a divided one. It would be wiser than you name some one alderman to make the selection than to attempt to do it collectively. . . . Gentlemen, my recommendation is that you direct the Mayor to employ one first-class engineer, the best he can find in the whole country, and hold him, the Mayor, as the people will, to a strict responsibility. . . .¹

So accustomed was the Council to the Mayor stating his views in his veto messages as to how an ordinance should be changed so as to meet with his approval that, when he did not do so, he was on one occasion, at least, accused of acting in bad faith or of having ulterior motives. He defended himself from such charges, holding that he "could not suggest changes in the superstructure to an edifice whose very foundation was wrong and illegal."²

Sometimes he would veto a measure and bring in an entirely new one in its place;³ at other times he would bring in his proposal for amendments without going through the formality of a veto.⁴ As we have said before, he regarded himself as a member of the Council, and he considered it his

¹ *Ibid.* (1885-86), p. 301. His recommendations were followed almost to the letter, and the great drainage project was put under way.

² *Ibid.* (1883-84), p. 303.

³ *Ibid.* (1881-82), p. 344.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

right and duty to aid that body in its deliberations in every way possible.

III. OTHER MESSAGES TO HIS COUNCIL¹

Other messages to the Council include his special messages and his annual messages or reports. He was not given to sending his Council many special messages, though he told them that as occasions arose he would present to them "curtly" such matters as ought to be brought to their attention.² His message on the smoke nuisance is reproduced in part. It is of interest because it is typically Harrisonian and because the smoke nuisance is still with us. He begins in characteristic fashion by speaking of the wonders of Chicago:

The people of Chicago are justly proud of their city. They have seen it, within the life of a middle-aged man, grow from nothing to be, in population, the tenth city of the world. In commerce it occupies a still higher grade. In the elegance of its business houses it is surpassed by no city. In the style and taste shown in its finer residences it is equaled by few. Here the architect has had ample scope for the exhibition of his genius and his culture, and has exhibited both. . . . The citizen who can live to see the Chicago of fifty years hence may well be envied. For he will look upon the finest city on the face of the globe.

But there is an evil which ought to be remedied, for

. . . . today, in the heart of the city, we have to look through a mass of murky smoke, and the outlines of the finest buildings are often scarcely distinguishable at a distance of a few blocks. A noble structure is erected of clean, pure Athens stone, and before the timber in it is well seasoned its face is as dingy as if it were in close proximity to a colliery. A neat citizen may growl at the mud of the streets, but a boot-black readily puts him in good humor. But a foul shirt-front and a smutted collar can only

¹ We should note that his messages were sometimes directed to the public as well as to the Council. This he sometimes frankly admitted, as for instance: "The public, if we are to judge by newspaper comments and communications, has most erroneous opinions on the whole matter. . . . To the public, therefore, as well as to you, I address this message." *Council Proceedings* (1883-84), p. 115.

² *Ibid.* (1893-94), p. 41.

be removed by the periodical change of linen. Smoke is worse than mud.

This great evil is growing worse and worse each year. . . . It is a crying evil and ought to be corrected. . . .

From this he proceeds to give the Council the advantage of his observations abroad:

In 1851 I first visited London. It was so smoky that on a foggy night a gas-light was scarcely visible across the diagonal of a street crossing. From the top of the fire monument, on a clear day, St. Paul's dome, a little more than a half-mile distant, was barely visible as a phantom spectre resting on shadowy sky. . . . Four years since I was again on the top of the monument. St. Paul's grand dome cut the sky with a clear outline, and Crystal Palace, seven miles away, was easily seen. The trees of London wore a healthy green and washing bills were not necessarily extravagant. . . . London authorities determined that smoke should not shroud the great city. How did they enforce their resolution? By forcing smoke to be burned in all large establishments, thus saving a large percentage of the useful qualities of fuel, and by refusing to let a locomotive or a steamboat make smoke within the city's limits. . . .

He then prescribes for Chicago and speaks further on the evils of smoke:

. . . . All locomotives, tugs, and steamboats should be made to burn hard coal or coke, or to burn their smoke. A very large amount of smoke is emitted by these crafts. Tugs run up and down the river and belch forth dense volumes of smoke close to the level of the ground. This more effectually fills the atmosphere than many times the same amount lifted from the top of a lofty building. It hugs the water and begrimes all who happen to pass a bridge when tugs pass along, and thence spreads through the city. A switch-engine is a regular smoke machine; dense smoke pours from its iron nostrils, frightening horses and begriming the city. . . .

In conclusion he pokes a little fun at Pittsburgh and exhorts the Council to take some action:

Pittsburgh could formerly boast of being the nastiest city in America. If Chicago does not take heed, Pittsburgh may tremble for her laurels. We breathe smoke, we eat smoke, we wear smoke, we walk smoke-laden streets, or live in smokehouses, and lie down between smoke-stained sheets. Let us get rid of the thing, so that we may not end in smoke.

I most earnestly recommend that you direct some committee to examine into this matter and to report what remedy may be devised to correct this dark nuisance.¹

It does not appear that his recommendations were taken seriously by the Council, the press, or the public generally. A message which did create a great deal of interest was the one he sent to the Council along with the preliminary report of the drainage survey commission. This was in many respects a masterly message, but since we have already seen something of the Mayor's attitude in that connection, extended quotation is unnecessary. However, there is one point which we should not pass over, for it shows his appreciation of scientific method. Commenting upon the report of the commission, he says: "Its conclusions in many features have been more or less advocated for many years. But such advocacy was rather the result of unskilled guesses or brainy hypothesis than of scientific research and mathematical calculation. Wiseacres will say aloud, 'Why all this expense and delay? We knew all this before.' They mistake; they did not know it, they guessed it."²

By charter provision it was the duty of the city's chief to make annual reports. This type of message is of no great importance for the purposes of this chapter. In these messages he praised the city of Chicago, felicitated the people, the Council, and himself. They contained the conventional summary of the activities of the city departments for the year.³ They always contained general proposals for the future, as when the Mayor recommended bond issues in order to provide for adequate water supply and other permanent improvements. In that message he said:

This city is destined to be one of the great cities of the world. Nothing but some dire political revolution can check her growth. In providing for

¹ *Ibid.* (1879-80), pp. 321, 322.

² *Ibid.* (1886-87), p. 514.

³ See, for instance, *ibid.* (1880-81), pp. 2 ff.

the wants of today we should look to the necessities of the great future. . . . We should endeavor to provide for the morrow not only what will be needed materially, but also for the demands of refined and refining taste. It cannot be expected that the people of today will or should rob themselves to gratify the people of the future. . . . We should pay every cent needed for present municipal purposes, but we should provide for future Chicago and should ask that future to help us so provide.¹

He distinguished clearly between the principles involved in paying current expenses and financing permanent improvements. The sad borrowing experience of the city in previous years still remained fresh in many minds, and many who should have known better were opposed to all forms of municipal borrowing.² The Mayor, with other forward-looking citizens, finally succeeded in leading the people along the path indicated in the foregoing quotation.³

IV. METHODS OF HANDLING HIS COUNCIL

1. AS A GROUP

Of considerable interest is the Mayor's technique in dealing with his Council. He gives a partial statement of his method in his last inaugural:

I shall listen to you with great pleasure when you bring into the body of which I am now a member measures for the good of the city, and I promise you that if you bring in any that I do not consider right I will be very sure to send in the next week a veto. If I do I hope you will not consider it an act of unkindness on my part. . . . The Mayor will have at his side an able corps of men, well paid, to give him counsel, and therefore if he should claim sometimes to know a little better than you it is because these paid men have aided him in arriving at just conclusions.⁴

At another time, although speaking of how much he had benefited the city by the use of his vetoes, he pays his respects to the Council, saying that they were honorable men

¹ *Ibid* (1881-82), p. 383.

² *Chicago Tribune* (February 3, 1882), editorial.

³ *Council Proceedings* (1881-82), p. 423; (1884-85), p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1893-94), p. 41.

and co-operated with him, but that they should not be expected to have the information as well at hand as the Mayor, and that they should not be expected to devote as much time to the city's business.¹

Sometimes his disagreements with his colleagues were expressed in gentle terms and with seeming reluctance. In vetoing an ordinance granting a company permission to erect light poles he said: "It is with considerable regret that I feel constrained by my duty to do this. I believe electric light to be the coming artificial light of cities." But when the Council had reconsidered the original ordinance "amendments were hurriedly made and inconsiderately passed, leaving the amended ordinance far worse than the original. I do not believe that was from design, but was the result of hasty action."²

In another instance, having charged the legislative body with lack of firmness, he softened up in his conclusion by saying "The people expect of you faithfulness and firmness. I believe the people will not be disappointed."³ In a similar case he explained how a proposed grant to a corporation would ruin the use of certain streets. Then he said: "You surely did not understand this. . . . Your good nature rather than your judgment has been called into action. But now that I have shown you even these few facts, I feel confident you will give the warmth of your hearts as well as the strength of your judgment to the side of the people, instead of squandering it all upon a few shrewd speculators."⁴

There are times when he used humor in order to bring the Council to see the error of its way. An ordinance providing for kiosk lamp-posts had been enacted, seemingly in all seriousness. The Mayor's veto was serious, but at the same time humorous. It reads in part: "A kiosk is not a well-

¹ *Ibid.* (1887-88), p. 14.

³ *Ibid.* (1881-82), p. 235.

² *Ibid.* (1882-83), p. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1883-84), pp. 284, 285.

known thing in this western world. To the ordinary denizen of Chicago the word awakens no familiar memories. . . . The favored few—the cultured remanent of Chicago—may say to the great sweating majority of the city that a kiosque is a sort of dome-shaped summer house of a Turkish garden in which the beauties of the harem disport for the delectation of their lord and master.” Proceeding from this he shows what an impossible situation such a lighting system would bring about, and concludes with the observation that but for the fact that members of the body had spoken to him seriously about the ordinance he would have considered the whole affair an April joke.¹

The aldermen were not unaccustomed to the sting of their presiding officer's sarcasm. A good exhibition of this occurs in connection with his veto of an ordinance extending the time limit on privileges which a railroad company was enjoying. The company had made no move to vacate when its time was expiring because it “was thoroughly acquainted with the bowels of aldermanic compassion, and trusted to the Council for help. The trust was not in vain. You have . . . with touching tenderness, extended the old permission for another twenty years. . . . The poor property-owners bemoan their sad fate in being forced to put their trust in aldermanic princes, and sigh for the good old times when they could look out upon their green cabbage patches and could enjoy the music of frogs in the free prairies.”²

In his communications to the aldermanic body we frequently find such expressions as: “I earnestly ask the Council not to grant any such long-enduring privileges.”³ “Gentlemen, I earnestly appeal to you to pause before you pass this monstrous iniquity.”⁴ “I earnestly beg, therefore, that you

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 243.

² *Ibid.* (1886-87), p. 241.

³ *Ibid.* (1883-84), p. 320.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

will so cut down the items returned to you, so that we may not again be forced to use the dishonored paper.”¹

On occasions the “ask,” “appeal,” or “beg” turned into demand or order, though not expressed in those words. In vetoing one of the ever recurring public-utility ordinances he said: “The ordinance is objectionable in law, in form, and in substance. It is the ordinance presented by the company with certain amendments, and how so defective a piece of legislation could be expected to meet with the Mayor’s approval passes my comprehension. It would seem to have been drawn by those who either knew not how or did not intend to protect the interests of the city. . . .” And then, after explaining its defects, he continues: “Gentlemen, I hope you will not even attempt to pass this ordinance over this veto. Its reckless looseness and its lack of everything in the city’s interest have now been pointed out to you. You are no longer the dupe of some very ignorant or very designing ordinance-maker. . . . If you wish to pass a proper ordinance I have one prepared.” It has been mentioned before that the veto of public utility grants was not always successful. In this instance the vigorous language of the Mayor was of no avail.² He did not spare direct criticism when he felt that the Council was in the wrong. The foregoing quotation reveals this; a few other illustrations will give a more definite idea of the nature of his criticisms. Here is one in which he complains because they did not take advice: “I also told you that you had no power to authorize the lowering of the tracks in Hawthorne Avenue, and told you I was sure Mr. Adams had overlooked this point when he gave his opinion to the Committee on railroads. I have since seen him, and when I called his attention to the point, he agreed with me fully.”³

Again, on the subject of improvident grants, he tells the

¹ *Ibid.* (1881–82), p. 499.

² *Ibid.* (1886–87), pp. 200, 213.

³ *Ibid.* (1883–84), p. 304.

Council that "in the language of the small boy, this ordinance is a dead give-away, and the people are under obligations to its projectors that they did not think of something else to ask for." When the Council was about to exceed its powers he said: "If the Council has this power, then the quicker the Legislature abolishes the Council, the better."¹ But when an action of the Council pleased him, he was not slow to give expression to his appreciation. It was the custom of that body to delay appropriation measures until the last moment; a variation from the rule brought the Mayor's congratulations, and between the lines one can read that the kind words expressed carried also the request that such practice he continued.²

2. AS INDIVIDUALS

A word might be said concerning his dealings with individual members of the Council. "Being a somewhat positive man," he feared that he might have trouble with some of the positive members of the aldermanic body. Accordingly, one of his first acts after becoming Mayor was to get in touch with one of the most obstreperous aldermen and pave the way for harmony: "Ned, I understand you are somewhat of a bulldozer. Well, so am I. If we at any time have any words in the Council I want you to come to my office the next morning. Be sure and come."³ The Mayor's tact is manifest; to enlarge upon this quotation is quite unnecessary. Another alderman, of quite a different type from Ed.⁴ Cullerton, was Arthur Dixon. In the first months of Harrison's administration he very actively opposed the executive in his policy of reducing salaries of the city employees. The Mayor

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

² *Ibid.* (1885-86), p. 565.

³ Quoted in *In Memoriam, Carter H. Harrison*, p. 50.

⁴ One of Cullerton's colleagues informs me that the "Ned" of the Carter Harrison I period is now known as "Ed."

had asked the firemen to vote on the question, and the alderman referred to busied himself in urging the men to vote against the proposal. The whole affair was most unfortunate for all those who opposed the Mayor. There was no way for the able alderman to save his face.¹ Yet this good Republican came to have very high regard for Harrison, calling him a "capable, efficient, generous-hearted, and an honest man" who commanded the "admiration of his political enemies."² All of which speaks for the Mayor's ability to get along with individual members of the Council.

It is said that Harrison never committed himself on propositions pending before the Council, his reason being that by his silence he could prevent combinations being formed against him. In like manner, when he had proposals of his own to make to the Council, he never divulged them to individual members beforehand.³ We can see in this not only a guard against combinations, but a method of preventing petty jealousies among those who might seek the honor of sharing the Mayor's confidence on legislative matters.

SUMMARY

Working with councils which were not above reproach, sometimes headstrong and at other times deaf to the call of duty, Carter Harrison was able, through his knowledge of municipal problems and his conscientious application to his duties, to control his councils to a considerable extent by the use of his veto power. He succeeded in bringing the aldermen into general accord with his program for financial savings, the clearness and vigor of his messages vetoing excessive appropriation ordinances usually having effect. He was less successful in his efforts to have the Council accept his views on public-utility questions. His opposition to long-time

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1879-80), pp. 98 ff.; *Chicago Tribune* (July 4, 1879), p. 1.

² Quoted in *In Memoriam*, pp. 48, 49.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51.

grants, easy term franchises, and improvident concessions generally, was often set at naught by a Council subject to undue pressure from the outside. In dealing with less important and routine matters his attention to details and the exercise of his good common sense almost invariably led the Council to an acceptance of his ideas. The feature about his veto messages which is most worthy of comment is that of constructive proposal. It was through the medium of the veto that nearly all of his recommendations went to the Council. His general messages were infrequent and not as likely to contain specific suggestions.

By his consideration as a presiding officer and by his varied flattery, sympathy, humor, requests, entreaties, scoldings, and commands in his messages, combined with the disposition to compromise when in a tight place, Harrison regularly maintained harmonious relations with his Council and kept his place as its leader. He dealt with the aldermen as a collective body primarily, it not appearing that he attempted to form combinations or to unduly influence individual members.

CHAPTER XIV

LEADERSHIP THROUGH ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES

For convenience this chapter is divided into two parts: "Political Administration" and "Business Administration." In the first part it is proposed to consider Harrison's use of patronage and spoils, the extent to which he made political use of officeholders, and the manner in which he distributed favors. These seem to be the aspects of administration which are closely tied up to the political side of it. In the second part we are concerned more with administration proper. Here we observe the successful Mayor boldly asserting his authority over his subordinates, taking care of the routine duties of office with indefatigable industry, husbanding the city's revenues, and earning the applause of visitors and the thanks of his fellow-citizens for the satisfactory discharge of his duties as the city's host during its gala year. It is to be borne in mind that we are not here studying him as an administrator primarily, but we are rather interested in the political value of his administrative acts.

I. POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION

1. PATRONAGE AND SPOILS

Upon the elevation of Harrison to the mayoralty in 1879 a Republican régime of nearly a score of years' duration came to an end. The confident and happy Democrat who took the municipal helm faced a situation in the civil service not unlike that which his beloved Jefferson had met in 1801. The Mayor was not, however, under an obligation to maintain the integrity of the service, as was the original Democrat. Jefferson preceded the spoils system; Harrison was born into

it. The period of Harrison's life and the unblushing epoch of spoils are embraced in the same span of years. In judging the actions of Chicago's most enthusiastic mayor on this point it is only fair to bear in mind the political ethics of the generation in which he functioned and the conditions under which he assumed office.

The *Tribune* quotes him as having said shortly before he took over the reins of government:

I propose to consult the interests of the party and the public in everything. I shall not remove a man without putting a better man in his place, and I believe I can find good Democrats. *I want to kill the Republican party*, and at the end of my term of office to leave the party which elected me restored to public confidence and the Republican party wiped out. . . . I shall expect Democrats especially to aid me in advancing the party interests, with an eye to 1880 always, for that is the meat we are after.¹

It is said that Harrison never denied having made the statement quoted, nor is there any very strong reason why he should have done so. If we may interpret his term "good Democrats" to mean capable Democrats, we haven't much quarrel with him. Furthermore, he strenuously urged that his success in making the city Democratic was not due to his filling offices with Democrats, but rather to his giving a capable administration, thereby making converts to his party.

Just before he entered upon his duties as mayor the *Times*, a Democrat organ, assured the public that Harrison would go slow in changing the heads of departments in order to prevent disorganization, but that the general run of clerks and subordinates would have to move out and make place for reliable Democrats.² That is what happened. Caution was observed in the selection of the important officials, and to such a degree that the opposition press accorded discriminat-

¹ Quoted in *Chicago Tribune* (April 2, 1881), editorial.

² *Chicago Times* (April 9, 1879), p. 5.

ing praise: "Considering the removal of Mr. Farwell and the appointment of a Democrat as inevitable, we suppose the appointment of Mr. Gurney will be generally acceptable. He is an old citizen, has been a merchant and otherwise connected with the Board of Trade for many years, and has always sustained a high personal character. Of his ability there can be no question." Another appointee was rated as "a man of education, a thorough accountant, a prompt and thorough business man." Referring to other men whom the Mayor had named for important positions the conclusion was that "as a whole, the nominations so far as made, considering that the Mayor confined his selections to his own political party, will give general satisfaction."¹ Not only did his appointments bring general approval, but the retention of the Republican commissioner of health, Dr. DeWolf, was even more noteworthy.²

In making appointments to the important offices the Mayor successfully resisted the typical job-seekers. His own report of a few such cases is worth reproducing. Speaking of some of the soreheads, he names them and gives the cause of their indisposition: "John Forsythe, who wanted to be comptroller, and because I didn't think his nerves quite fitted for it turned republican. Mike Hickey, who wanted me to give him a captaincy, and because I did not think his record quite fitted him for it, turned round and became a republican. Miles Kehoe, who wanted to be superintendent of the water department. I thought Miles wasn't familiar enough with water and didn't give it to him."³

Skilled in his estimate of men almost to the point of causing those who felt his glances of appraisal to quake before him,

¹ *Chicago Tribune* (May 14, 1879), editorial.

² *Chicago Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1; *Council Proceedings* (1887-88), p. 15.

³ Quoted in *Chicago Times* (April 3, 1881), p. 2.

unquestionably in earnest about choosing the best for the higher positions, it is not to be marveled at that his administrative circle escaped hostile criticism almost entirely. When Harrison was bitterly assailed he wisely retorted on many occasions that he was probably not such a bad mayor after all, since his assistants, who really administered the affairs of the city, were admittedly given good service.¹ So far as the first places in the departments were concerned, the conclusion is inescapable that ability to render service was the first requisite upon which Harrison insisted.² Aside from guarding the city's interest, this was good far-sighted politics, as Harrison himself maintained.

With the less important or routine places Harrison was not quite so particular. He felt that Democrats, and Democrats only, should have these jobs,³ although he made exceptions everywhere, and it is not apparent that he allowed the political consideration to interfere with the fire and police departments. It is fair to say that he did not prostitute any part of the city's services to political purposes. He said that he "did not propose to turn the city government into a hospital for the lame, halt, and blind."⁴ He wanted the best Democrats available for the positions. Many came, but few were chosen. Shameless crowds besieged him, but he nobly resisted their appeals, said the *Tribune*.⁵ That daily further complimented him by stating that he had resisted the "gutter pressure."⁶ In his last term, in 1893, he still resisted the gutter and the incompetent. A long line of place-hunters and their spokesmen were filing past his desk. He recognizes one:

¹ Such commendation, for instance, in the *Inter-Ocean* (April 3, 1885), p. 8. For Harrison's use of it, see almost any annual message in the *Council Proceedings*.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Chicago Tribune* (May 9, 1879), p. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.* (May 17, 1879), p. 8.

⁶ *Ibid.* (July 3, 1879), p. 8.

“‘Hello, Bill, what do you want?’ Bill spoke for a friend.

“‘What are his qualifications?’ asked the Mayor.

“Bill answered: ‘He is a Democrat and always has been one.’

“‘That’s all right,’ replied the Mayor, ‘but that doesn’t go far enough. He must have some qualifications. Can he do this work? Does he know anything about it? He must be qualified.’

“The intimation that Democracy in itself was not a qualification caused the ranks to wobble as if they had been hit on the shins with a rake, and some fell out of the door and did not return.”¹

He retained many good men who had served under his Republican predecessors, but was not neglectful of the political opportunities presented by such action. An illustration makes this clear. A capable employee had served at the City Hall a number of years before Harrison came in, and upon being informed by the new Mayor that his services could not be well dispensed with, said: “Mr. Mayor, I don’t know how I can thank you or ever repay you.” “Oh,” said the Mayor, “never mind that; only speak a good word for me when you have a chance to do so.” The capable holdover made the promise and found pleasure in keeping it.²

Some of Harrison’s subordinate officials, and other than those in the police and fire departments, were opposed to him politically. The *Tribune* gives us this information, and it is a complete give-away, a *faux pas* due to inordinate zeal in trying to win Irish votes from Harrison in the gubernatorial campaign in 1884. A Celtic clerk is reported to have said: “I am not a Harrison man, though I am a Harrison clerk, and you’d be surprised to know perhaps that there are fully fifty clerks in the building alone who are not Carter Harri-

¹ *Ibid.* (April 19, 1893), p. 2.

² Quoted in “Ex-Officials’ Proceedings,” in *In Memoriam, C. H. Harrison*, p. 53.

son men.”¹ While the clerk probably exaggerated the number, still it is clear that Harrison retained men in office who did not honor him with their votes. Incidentally, the clerk’s statement should have been good campaign material for Harrison.

Harrison often promised jobs to his supporters, and it is said that with him such a promise made was a debt unpaid. Mr. E. S. Dreyer, who managed one of his campaigns, was loud in his praise on this point of ethics: “. . . . He regarded his promise as a sacred thing, and he paid his political debts as scrupulously as his business engagements. In fact I never knew a man who was so completely the slave of his word. After he was elected he was most scrupulous in following up and keeping every promise that had been made.”²

He was not averse to giving positions to those who had opposed his nomination. There was nothing mean about the Mayor. We are indebted to Mr. Burke, the city sealer in 1893, for this information. He reports the following from his chief: “Burke, in looking about for places for these men, I don’t want you to forget that there is a large number of them who were opposed to me before my nomination. After I was nominated these men came gracefully to my support and I want you to see that they are remembered.”³

An officer of Mr. Harrison’s political sagacity has been ever aware of the hidden dangers in the free use of spoils. The Mayor believed in its use, but recognized its limits. “Patronage is an element of weakness, and not of strength, to a self-seeking man,” he said, in an address before the New York Century Club.⁴ Frequently he appointed men to office,

¹ Quoted in *Chicago Tribune* (November 4, 1884), p. 6.

² Quoted in *Chicago Times* (November 5, 1893), p. 3.

³ *Ibid.* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

⁴ Quoted in Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 242, 246.

especially the important offices, who were the poorest politicians, realizing that efficient government would be worth more to him and his party in the long run than a government of politicians for politicians. Farther on in the address from which we have just quoted he declared: "The bitterest of all partisan complaints made to me since I have held office has been that the men I have appointed have been *no good* for the party."¹ Many of his other speeches contain similar declarations which seem to be substantiated.² Furthermore, we have just seen that he often refused to name incompetents for office, with the result that many of these place-hunters turned against Harrison and his party. While admitting that Harrison was a spoilsman, it is manifest at the same time that he knew where to draw the line between the demands of good government and those of his "hungry" followers. We might say that he came as near to administering the affairs of the city efficiently, "taking care of his friends" satisfactorily, and providing for his own political future adequately, as any mayor ever did. All respect for the man who could maintain this triple balance!

2. POLITICAL USE OF OFFICEHOLDERS

Although Harrison felt compelled to appoint some men to office who were not good politicians because he could not find assistants like himself who were both good administrators and possessed of political acumen, he nevertheless did his best to make his subordinates act for him and his party in a political way whenever possible. On the very last day of his life he was active in his efforts at getting the employees of the city to work for the success of the Democratic party in an approaching election. Said Mr. Graham, his secretary:

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

² *Chicago Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1; *Council Proceedings* (1887-88), p. 8.

“Mr. Harrison’s last official act as mayor was to direct me to send to the heads of departments the notice directing them to notify their employes that while the latters’ first duty was to the city of Chicago and its tax-payers, their next duty was to the party that gave them sustenance.”¹

The Mayor then left his office for the last time and went to the Fair grounds, where he saw Mr. Burke, the city sealer, who gives an account of what transpired:

. . . Mr. Harrison called me and gave me some forcible instructions in the presence of a couple of dozen men who represented the municipal departments of other cities. . . . “Burke,” said he, “I want you to tell every man employed by the city directly or indirectly that it is my desire that he should devote all the time consistent with his public duties to the interests of the democratic party. Any man who is eating democratic bread under this administration must in no way be inactive during the present campaign.”²

His insistence that the city employees serve the hand that was feeding them can hardly be said to have extended to those in charge of the city’s first line of defense, the police and fire departments. Many of these men were of the opposite political faith, yet they were retained in office uncoerced politically and honored with promotion in numerous instances. Mr. Harrison gives this illustration of his attitude toward those departments: “. . . Not one single word have I uttered to a policeman that would show that I demanded his vote. I went to John Ender at last election, a first-class detective and a colored man. ‘John, don’t you think you could vote for me now? You have been here two years.’ ‘Well, Mr. Mayor, I can’t go back on my party.’ ‘All right, John, vote as you please, but be a good policeman.’ He still stays with me. That was two years ago.”³

The use to which the Mayor put the rank and file of

¹ Quoted in the *Chicago Times* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

² *Ibid.*

³ Quoted in the *Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1.

Democratic city employees, excluding policemen and firemen, at election time is well pictured by the *Daily News* in an account of pre-election happenings at the City Hall:

The most significant thing in politics yesterday was the secret meeting of the city employes. Word was quietly passed around among the men during the day that the Mayor required their presence in the council chambers at 4 o'clock. At that hour the stairs resounded with the tramp of many brogans and the walls echoed with the tongues of divers nationalities. Lieb, Cheney, Fogarty, and Grinnell were there, backed by several hundred bridge tenders, street laborers, sewer builders, water inspectors, and city hall clerks. A reporter who sauntered in at ten minutes after four, before the proceedings had begun, was assisted out by a burly bridge tender. At the door he met Mayor Harrison, and asked him if he proposed to hold the meeting with closed doors.

"Of course I do," he replied, testily. "It is none of your affair, and I don't want you to put anything in the *Daily News* about it."

"Not even an item?"

"No, not a single word. And if anybody here breathes a word of what happens," he shouted so that all could hear, "off goes his head."

. . . . Thomas O. Thompson, the Mayor's private secretary, called the roll, and everybody whose name was not recorded thereon was excluded. Some difficulty was experienced in separating the black sheep from the fold. Finally the Mayor lifted his well-known voice and inquired: "Is any man here who is not in the city's employ?"

"Yes," answered several voices.

"Well, tell 'em to just get out," said Carter.

"If they don't get out within one minute, I'll put 'em out," yelled Gen. Lieb, of the water office, shaking his shaggy locks savagely.

When satisfied that no intruders were left, Carter spoke as follows:

"I don't want a single gentleman to stay here who is not for the straight democratic ticket. [Applause.] I want no applause. I am not making a stump speech now, but talking business. . . . The other party can only win by cheating us. They have plenty of money and expect to buy us up. Now you've got, tomorrow, to do the work. I am the only city official ever known to go before the employes and say to 'em—keep that door shut—the only city official who does not ever ask a cent from the city employes. I do not ask you to vote for me. You have a right to vote as you please. [Applause.] I am not talking for applause, and I want you to keep still. . . . But I have a right to ask you who are in favor of me

to stand up and work against the fraud that will be attempted at the polls tomorrow. A large amount of money will be used to buy up our peddlers, and judges, and clerks. I know that because I have friends in the Citizens' Camp who keep me informed of what they are doing. An honest man can stand watching, and I want you to watch the ticket peddlers and judges for me. I want an honest, straight, pure ballot—nothing else. If all the judges are straight, it will be all right. I want every man of you to go to the polls and do your best for me. I need all of my friends to protect my interests. I would rather give you money than be sold out by you. Now, I am going to select at least one hundred and fifty members from among you to go to the polls, watch and see that the ticket peddlers are not bought up, take care of the tickets, and stay at the polls until the last vote is counted. As I don't know you all I will have Mr. Cheney, Mr. Lieb, and other heads of departments help me select a captain for each precinct, and I shall want the balance of you to do all you can for me."

The selection of the workers was attended with considerable difficulty, and the Mayor dropped a number of ill-natured remarks. . . . When some trouble occurred in filling up the list of challengers for one of the wards, the Mayor exclaimed angrily: "I never was left in the lurch so much in my life. . . ."

"Don't leave until all the votes are counted," The door of the council chamber was pushed upon by someone, and the mayor shouted: "Shoot him if he comes in."

Resuming his speech, he said:

"I hold you responsible not only to myself but to the democratic party and to the city. I don't want one of our men cheated out of a single vote. The judges may be honest as King Solomon, who would cut a babe in two, but they will bear watching. . . . Some of you can make money by selling me and the party out tomorrow, but, I say, don't do it. One thing more: Be there at the beginning."

". . . . I do hope and trust that men whom I have put into office will be as true to me tomorrow as they are true to the city—shut that door and put that fellow out. . . ."

"One word more: You are not to be assessed one cent, but if any of you need funds to spend tomorrow for me I'll give you the money myself. If there is any difficulty at the polls, if you know of any ticket peddlers selling out, or if my tickets are stolen or destroyed, go to the nearest patrol box and telephone headquarters at once, or else to the nearest engine house and telegraph Mr. Swenie. I shall be here all day to keep watch. If anybody does buy out a ticket peddler I know it won't be you. If any

city employes who are not here come to the polls where you are catch 'em and impress 'em into service. Finally, I want you all to be ticket peddlers as well as challengers."¹

From the foregoing it appears that Carter Harrison relied much more upon the personal service of officeholders than on the pure spoils method of maintaining his power. He repeatedly alleged, and nothing to the contrary is found, that he never assessed a city employee for political purposes.² He retained men in office who were opposed to him politically, hoping to win them over later; he appointed others to office with the expectation that they serve him and his party whenever possible. By retaining the best and appointing the good, he planned to give administrations which the voters would indorse, thus continuing him and his party in power. As Harrison continued in office the voters came to realize that he would not allow spoils and its incidents to stand in the way of good administration. Says Willis Abbot: "It was the widespread recognition of this policy of the mayor which always gained for him thousands of Republican votes despite the antagonism of the Republican press, and which in the last election caused him to make enormous gains in every Republican ward in the city."³

3 THE USE OF FAVORS.

It is rather difficult to state satisfactorily the extent to which Harrison used "favours" to further his political ends, as what might be considered a favor by some would be considered the proper and ordinary exercise of administrative power by others. In his campaigns he is accused of making promises of favours to men and corporations. The *Inter-Ocean* claimed in 1893 that he had promised promotions to many police officers in return for political services in the event of

¹ *Ibid.* (April 3, 1883), p. 1.

² *Ibid.* (March 29, 1883), p. 1.

³ Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

the election. While the charge might well have been true, it is too general to be accepted as a fact.¹ At another time it is alleged that he gave a number of men temporary and easy employment on the streets in order to get their votes in an approaching election.²

In his campaign in 1891—the only time he was defeated for mayor—he was asked publicly if he would not make some concessions in contracts in favor of the iron industries of Chicago in case of his election. He replied:

I am glad that question has been asked, and I am glad to say in reply that all things being equal I would give preference to a Chicago manufacturer. I will go even further. I will say that although the law requires that contracts shall be given to the lowest bidder I will squeeze the law a little to favor a Chicago manufacturer.

. . . . I am not a protectionist, but I am in favor of protecting the laborer and the men of muscle in Chicago. I am not a free trader to the extent of importing foreign laborers to ruinously compete with American labor.³

Both the *Tribune*⁴ and the *Inter-Ocean*⁵ allege that Harrison granted favors to public utility interests. In the last chapter we showed that Harrison was opposed to long-time franchise grants, that he tried to make the Council exact the full value of a franchise when one was granted, and that he made strenuous efforts to protect the city's interests in the matter of the quality of the service to be performed, etc. But these corporations could well afford to support Harrison in spite of those facts. Harrison was known for his fair business dealing. In the enforcement of ordinances touching the public utilities companies no one expected him to be high-handed or arbitrary, and he was not. He met their representatives as he stood ready to meet the representatives of any

¹ *Inter-Ocean* (March 30, 1893), p. 1.

² *Chicago Tribune* (April 1, 1883), p. 9.

³ *Ibid.* (April 4, 1891), p. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.* (April 4, 1883), editorial.

⁵ *Inter-Ocean* (April 4, 1885), editorial.

other business, and attempted to work out plans with them which would affect their business least adversely and at the same time protect the interests of the city. A good illustration of his procedure is furnished in connection with the railroad-track-elevation program, where he agreed to work out a plan for elevation separately with each company.¹ Favors of this type were worth while to the companies and were probably extended at no sacrifice to the city.

It was constantly asserted that the Mayor granted favors to the saloon men for their votes and influence. This accusation is not altogether without foundation, for he allowed the saloons to stay open on Sunday in violation of law, was not scrupulous about enforcing the twelve o'clock closing rule, winked at disobedience of his order to stay closed on election days.² He fought to keep the saloon license fees at a reasonably low rate, and was ever on the alert to see that the saloons were not discriminated against.³ He quoted John Bright with approval: "If a trade in the country is permitted by law, that trade has a right to be defended by law."⁴ Harrison looked upon the liquor business as a legitimate business, and, as such, entitled to full protection. But since he went even farther, and permitted them to violate certain laws, it must be concluded that he was partial to the saloons. Knowing him as an astute politician, we must draw a further conclusion, namely, that he was not blind to the political value of his laxity toward this institution.

Just as he was accused of favoring saloons, he was attacked for his attitude toward gambling. He held that it was impossible to eradicate gambling, and that the best that could

¹ See chap. xi, sec. ii.

² *Council Proceedings* (1879-80), p. 298; *Chicago Daily News* (April 3, 1883), p. 1; *Chicago Tribune* (April 4, 1883), p. 2.

³ *Council Proceedings* (1883-84), pp. 44 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1884-85), p. 3, quoted in annual message.

be done was to regulate it. For instance, he "instructed the police that if minors, drunken men, or poor mechanics were allowed to play in any house, or if suppers were furnished, or liquors given away or sold, or if ropers-in were employed, or cards of advertisement were issued, or if a house was kept open after seven o'clock Saturday evenings, then the house or houses so offending must be raided."¹ It was constantly pointed out that this sort of regulation was not violently opposed by the gamblers and that the leading gambler of Chicago was usually active in lining up his confederates on the side of Harrison.² Of course, gambling was not permitted by law, and since the Mayor regulated rather than prohibited it, to that extent he favored it. Yet one must be cautious in saying that he favored gambling for political reasons. Being, as we have seen, liberal on all such matters, it is quite possible that he would have let the less offensive places run regardless of political considerations. Still the weight of evidence is against him on his handling of the gambling evil. Newspapers which offered little criticism of his financial policies unsparingly denounced him for his leniency toward gambling. Old residents of Chicago maintained the same position, though with less vehemence than they did forty years ago.³ All things considered, it is fair to conclude that he extended favors to these parasites for rather selfish political reasons.

Harrison's attitude toward sexual vices was similar to that which he showed toward gambling. He regarded prostitution as a necessary curse, to be restricted and regulated as far as possible. Any attempts to stamp it out he held not only futile, but argued that they were productive of results

¹ *Ibid.* (1881-82), p. 383, annual message.

² *Chicago Tribune* (April 4, 1885), p. 6; *Inter-Ocean* (March 28 and April 3, 1893), pp. 1 and 1, 2, respectively.

³ Interviews with old residents.

still more disastrous to the social order than the condition which such attempts are intended to remedy.¹ Here again he was charged with being lenient for political purposes,² and the charge probably had some basis in fact, for while it is true that the prostitute had no vote, it is notorious that the depraved male promoters of sexual vice did have votes.

As was stated at the beginning of the discussion of "favors," it is not easy to determine to what extent Harrison deliberately made use of them. He is quoted before as having said that he would show Chicago business some consideration in purchasing supplies for the city. He was accused, though without reasonable basis, of favoring public-utilities companies. The newspapers constantly told the "harpy" classes that he was their friend. Though Harrison often denied this accusation heatedly and at great length, the classes referred to were not convinced, and gave him their support. It is proverbial that these members of society are quick to learn their friends. The Mayor's well-known ideas of personal liberty were not unwelcome to these people. Furthermore, his belief that vice could not be stamped out was in no way disquieting to them. Bearing these points in mind, we are led to the conclusion that, while Harrison may or may not have consciously favored these "Sodomites," his administration was favorable to them.

II. BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Harrison was at his best in the discharge of the administrative duties of his office. ". . . He had the essentials of a good executive—clear judgment, prompt action, full knowledge of affairs, and skill in the choice of responsible assistants."³ He was essentially a business mayor, with all the implications of that term. He regarded himself as absolutely

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1887-88), p. 13, annual message.

² *Chicago Tribune* (April 1, 1883), p. 3.

³ *Chicago Times* (October 29, 1893), editorial.

responsible for the city's business. He took orders from no one either inside or outside of the city's employ; but he directed those in the city's service very much as the head of a successful private corporation would have done.

1. SUMMARY REMOVAL

In his exercise of the power of removal, shortly after he became Mayor, Harrison forcibly demonstrated the fact that he intended to be the head of the city. In line with placing the city on a firm financial basis the Mayor had ordered the heads of certain departments to bring about a reduction of salaries in their departments. Matt Benner, the otherwise very efficient fire marshal, could not bring himself to cooperate in this matter. His Honor wrote him a letter, the material part of which ran: "As it is absolutely necessary that the heads of the different departments should be in accord with this office, as to the policy of expenditures in running the city government, in their respective departments, and as you seem so averse to bringing yourself into such accord, I now notify you that your resignation will be immediately accepted." The Marshal, seemingly unacquainted with polite administrative practice in such matters, rather naïvely replied that he had received the letter and had "taken it under advisement." Those better schooled in the art of administrative diplomacy will not be surprised to learn that Matt almost immediately found himself in receipt of the following from his wrathful superior: "I now notify you that you are hereby discharged from said office."¹

The removal was in no way political, as Benner was a Democrat and Harrison had recommended his appointment to Mayor Medill. Although the action taken by the Mayor was for purely administrative purposes, he was almost uniformly condemned for arbitrariness and high-handedness by

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1879-80), pp. 98 ff.

the Council, the press, the underwriters, and the public generally.¹ But Harrison successfully rode the storm. Benner's successor was every whit as capable as Benner, and the ghost of Mrs. O'Leary's cow, which the timid saw at the time of the removal, soon vanished into thin air. The complete triumph of the Mayor in connection with this incident is best attested to by the fact that it was never raised against him in a future election campaign, and Benner himself, at a later time, actively supported Harrison.² The people of Chicago soon learned to their satisfaction and to the Mayor's political profit that he knew what he was about.

2. ATTENTION TO ROUTINE

He gave himself whole-souledly to his duties as mayor. Mr. Abbot, his biographer, writes:

The time he spent in his office in the city hall was the least he spent in its service. Waking, the city was never absent from his mind. His conversation turned almost exclusively upon civic themes. His hours of leisure were largely spent on the back of his Kentucky mare, riding through streets and alleys, investigating paving, keeping an eye on the work of street-cleaners and scavengers, and noticing whether street railways were living up to the requirements of their franchises in the matter of paving, and inspecting the progress of public works. More than one derelict contractor or city employee suffered the shock of having the first report of his neglect of duty made to his chief by the mayor himself.³

Everyone attests to his devotion to the city and to his duties as mayor and to the value of his horseback rides in the city's interests. ". . . As early as six o'clock in the morning," said Mr. Burke, "he could be seen out around Lincoln park taking a matutinal ride, and the superintendent of streets was likely to hear from him some time during the day."⁴

¹ *Ibid.*; *Chicago Tribune* (July 4, 1879), p. 1.

² *Chicago Tribune* (April 4, 1891), p. 9.

Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

Quoted in the *Chicago Times* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

In his office he gave audience to all comers who could show any reason at all for wishing to see him. He did what no other mayor has ever done, with the exception of his son, according to an old newspaper reporter: he held "open court" nearly every morning. The Mayor would sit at an outer desk and all who cared to approach him might do so.¹ ". . . Citizens knew that the speediest way to get a nuisance abated, work done, or police protection increased was to see the mayor himself. Visitors upon such errands, who with justice might have been referred to the heads of departments, were always received by Harrison, their requests heard, and in the great majority of cases the reforms for which they asked were immediately effected."² The Mayor wanted to talk with everybody, and these audiences enabled him to keep his hand on the public pulse. However much an interview with the Mayor may have been worth to a citizen, it was probably worth more to the Mayor himself. Before his caller left he was pretty sure to raise his estimation of the city's chief executive, for only the most sophisticated could remain unaffected by the "old man's" fine physique, courtly bearing, genuine sympathy, and attention to their wants.

The devotion and intelligence which Carter Harrison brought to the duties of his office received official recognition from the Council in the form of a somewhat unusual resolution which was passed July 31, 1882. It reads:

WHEREAS, Our worthy Mayor has devoted his time and attention to the duties of his office with the utmost zeal and fidelity, giving to the affairs of the city a greater degree of care and consideration than a business man would to his own private business, has been daily at his desk dispatching matters requiring executive action and giving audience to all who have had important business to lay before him, and has invariably attended the sessions of this Council, greatly aiding us in our deliberations and expediting business, therefore be it

¹ Edward Prichard, interview.

² Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

Resolved, That as a recognition of this faithful service of the Mayor and in view of the further fact that in the three years and a quarter of his connection with the affairs of this city, he has only taken two weeks' vacation, this Council does hereby grant him a leave of absence until the fourth of September next. . . .¹

3. FINANCIAL ECONOMY

Probably the most signal service Mayor Harrison rendered the city of his adoption was in the realm of municipal finance. When he became mayor the city was not paying its contractors and employees promptly or in cash.² Several millions in scrip were being issued annually, and it was never worth a hundred cents on the dollar. In his first inaugural Mr. Harrison outlined his financial policy in a few clear sentences:

Debts can be wiped out in but one way—by payment. Surplus can be acquired only by saving. Saving can only be made by honest expenditure for wise and legitimate purposes, and by preventing all leakages. The bonded debt of Chicago is about \$13,000,000 (bearing 6 and 7 per cent). If you will aid me, gentlemen, in an economical administration of affairs, I believe it will be possible to fund a part of this debt so as to save 1 or 2 per cent per annum. The people will cheerfully submit to any temporary inconvenience for so permanent a relief.³

In order to carry out his program he had to work against the Council quite often in his first term, and not always successfully. Later the Council came more to his way of thinking. When he first inaugurated his program of economy he had a doubting public and press; sometimes it turned into hostility, as at the time of his removal of Benner. Naturally the city employees were not friendly to many of his plans for economy. But Harrison triumphed over them all. The

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1882–83), p. 91.

² “. . . . The ‘schoolmarms’ of Chicago have at last been paid a portion of their hard-earned and long-expected wages. There are still two months due these patient doves in the nursery of humanity.” *Chicago Tribune* (June 20, 1879), p. 8.

³ *Council Proceedings* (1879–80), p. 4.

most stalwart Republican organs had to admit that his financial policy was successful. Said the *Inter-Ocean*, editorially: "So far as concerns maintaining the financial standing of the city, Mayor Harrison is not open to censure."¹

The Mayor, with pardonable pride, tells of the methods he used and of the results he accomplished:

By cutting down salaries; by a rigid enforcement of economy in every department; by close collections wherever a dollar could be collected; by getting rid of all employees not absolutely necessary, and exacting full work from those remaining; by saving from every appropriation when possible; by, in fine, managing the affairs of this city as if it were a private corporation the employees of this city were paid long before the first year had expired, in gold; were paid promptly on the first of each month, a thing, by the way, which had never before been done in the memory of the oldest employee; contractors were paid promptly; scrip was reduced during the first year to about \$1,500,000; during the second, to less than \$600,000, and entirely eliminated in the third year. The illegal certificates amounting to over \$275,000 were paid; the honor of our city redeemed. Her credit began to improve in the money centers of the country; her bonds were refunded first at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, then at 4 per cent, and finally, to her infinite pride, at $3\frac{6}{10}\frac{5}{6}$ per cent.²

No one gives Harrison all the credit for the financial recovery of the city; nor did he claim it, as he was frequently charged with doing. He expressed his appreciation of the co-operation of the department heads, the Council, and the people generally;³ on more than one occasion he paid tribute to his predecessor, Mayor Heath, for having inaugurated a sound policy of economy;⁴ and finally he acknowledged that the general prosperity of Chicago was an essential in making his policy a success, admitting that he had assumed charge of the city's exchequer in brighter days than those which had

¹ *Inter-Ocean* (April 2, 1885), p. 4.

² *Council Proceedings* (1887-88), p. 4, annual message.

³ *Ibid.* (1881-82), p. 4, second inaugural; *ibid.* (1885-86), p. 566.

⁴ *Chicago Daily News* (March 29, 1883), p. 1, acceptance speech.

been vouchsafed to his immediate predecessors.¹ Yet the Mayor justly regarded himself the leading figure in this movement, and it was because of his undisputed success in it that he received the support of many of Chicago's substantial Republican citizens.

4. OFFICIAL HOST

As the city's host Mayor Harrison was as uniformly praised as he was for his success in handling the municipal finances. Though the two do not compare in importance, the former is in no way insignificant when we consider the important gatherings in Chicago in those days, and especially the demands of the World's Fair on the Mayor's official hospitality. He had worked hard to get the Fair for Chicago, and he worked hard to make it a success. He was never bored with the many social duties which fell his lot during the eventful year of the Fair. The *Tribune* thus sounds his praise: "The social duties of the Mayor in connection with the World's Fair during the entire summer have been many and exacting, but through them all he carried himself with a dignity and frankness of spirit and action which won him the respect of Chicago's guests from abroad and the approval of her citizens."²

He extended the hospitalities of his own home to the Duke of Veragua and the Princess Eulalia, as well as to other distinguished and noble visitors, to the mutual happiness of guests and host.³ Said P. D. Armour: ". . . As Mayor of Chicago during the World's Fair period he discharged the many duties that devolved upon him in a manner that called forth nothing but praise from the citizens, and to hun-

¹ *Council Proceedings* (1881-82), p. 3, second inaugural; *ibid.* (1887-88), p. 3, annual message.

² *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*; Mrs. Heaton Owsley, interview.

dreds of thousands of visitors to Chicago this summer. Mayor Harrison made an impression upon them that will keep his memory alive in their recollections along with the great beauties of the White City.”¹

The bitter things which had been said about Harrison on the eve of the World's Fair were quickly forgotten when he assumed office for the last time and entered upon his duties as host. His critics became silent, and the city was proud of him. In those festive and happy days, as the impetuous lover and Mayor radiated good will to all the world, he won the heart of many a Chicagoan who heretofore had seen him only as an astute politician. He had never been so popular as he was during the last days of the Fair, and that popularity can be attributed largely to the eminently satisfactory manner in which he represented the city in his capacity as its official host.

SUMMARY

As Mayor, Harrison used the appointing power to strengthen his and his party's position. Fully realizing the dangers of a free use of spoils, he was careful to appoint only competent men to the important positions; desirous of winning over Republicans, he left a number of the better Republican employees in office. He considered good, honest administration of more political value than a wholesale distribution of offices to his supporters; but having once appointed a man of his own political faith, he expected and urged loyal political services. In respect to favors, Harrison showed a willingness to give Chicago manufacturers some special consideration in the purchase of supplies for the city; he used his best efforts to avoid adversely affecting the public utilities companies in his enforcement of ordinances which related to them; he permitted saloons to violate the closing laws; he attempted only a sort of quasi-official regulation of gambling

¹ Quoted in *Chicago Tribune* (October 29, 1893), p. 2.

and prostitution, never attempting to stamp out either. All told, his dispensing of favors probably netted him considerable political profit.

In those aspects of administration which do not lend themselves so readily to politics Harrison acted not entirely unlike the head of a private business. He expected prompt co-operation from his subordinates, and he made a striking example of the first important official who failed him in this regard. His attention to administrative details and his close application to his duties in general brought the grant of a vacation from his Council. For the financial recovery of the city he deserves the chief credit, as even the Republican newspapers admitted. Although of no importance from the standpoint of efficient administration, Harrison is further well and favorably remembered in Chicago for the good humor and grace with which he discharged his social duties as World's Fair mayor.

Summing up the essential points of the chapters on legislative and administrative leadership, we would say that, while Harrison's administrations were not efficient throughout, being marred somewhat by spoils in the lower branches of the services and by grants of favors to certain politically powerful groups, his consistent and intelligent attention to his legislative duties and his measurable success in restraining the extravagance, mitigating the incompetence, and checking upon the carelessness of the Council, and his major part in redeeming the city financially, won the confidence of citizens who were not affected by his fantastic speeches or hypnotized by his personality. In other words, his continuance in office was due to the fact that the art of the politician was supplemented by the competence and faithfulness of the public official.

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

We now approach the most hazardous task of all, the task of pointing out the most significant causes for Harrison's success, the reasons for his not attaining greater success, and the peculiar qualities of his type of leadership. We recall that he came from a family which had had experience in politics for many generations, a family in which there was a tradition for the performance of public service. Not only that, but the Harrisons stood at the top socially and near the top economically. One of obscure origin might feel that he has done well for himself and his family even when his accomplishments are meager, for to most of us attainments are relative. But Carter Harrison had to aim high in order to make an honor mark on the scale established by his distinguished forebears. He could seek a high place with assurance, experiencing nothing of the feeling of inferiority or humility which often handicaps a capable individual who was not born into a favored class. His name gave him pride, assurance, poise, and high ambition. Who will say that there is not something in the name of Adams, or Bayard, or in any one of a number of others that might be mentioned which gives the bearer a hold on himself and assures him of the good will of his fellows when he seeks to add new luster to that name?

We have noted that Harrison had the best classical education his day afforded, and a degree in law. It has often been said by careless observers that college education is a handicap to one who aspires to political honors. Professor Munro points out the fallacy of this contention,¹ and the

¹ *Personality in Politics*, pp. 104, 105.

case of Mayor Harrison strengthens Munro's argument, for there is not the slightest evidence that Harrison, the Yale graduate, ever lost any following because of his classical education, and there is every reason to believe that he won voters on account of it. Certainly it is true that he won his most impressive victory when he was pitted against a man who had no formal education.

Two years of travel and study in Europe were invaluable in preparing the young man for his future career in a cosmopolitan city. During that period he learned French and German and acquired some knowledge of other tongues. Ever a keen observer and curious about the habits and customs of people, he saw and remembered much which was to serve him well when he came to deal with the polyglot population of Chicago.

Harrison brought to Chicago from Kentucky the somewhat distinctive characteristics of a gentleman of that state, characteristics which made him different from the majority of gentlemen in Chicago. The difference was not so marked as to make him a freak, but it was sufficient to make him picturesque and attractive. His type of geniality and cordiality, his gallantry, and his horsemanship are associated with the ante-bellum Kentucky planter. His early surroundings were those of the cavalier, with few, if any, tinges of the austerity and narrowness of the Puritan. We need not comment upon the preference of the typical urban population for the former.

Chicago, a young and "rough and tumble" community, growing with the great Northwest by leaps and bounds, gave the alert young man of thirty his economic opportunity, and in time his fortune was made. The possession of ample means enabled him to turn later to politics without having to meet the charge of sordid economic motives. In Chicago he heard spoken the tongues he had learned on the Continent, and he

learned more about divers peoples which he later turned to political profit. Here he saw and learned about great business enterprises, and came to know many promoters of business, a number of whom were to sustain him in after years when he had chosen the public life. Here he made his first acquaintance with a large artisan and labor population, which population, in a score of years, was to honor him so handsomely with its suffrage. He saw that the vast majority in this city wanted liberty, if not license, in all things, and this he remembered when he became a public officer.

Directing our attention to his traits, we find that, like so many other political leaders, he was endowed with a good physique. He was not quite tall enough for his weight, nor was he muscular; but he had physical vigor and a splendid carriage. His health was excellent, and he guarded it well by giving attention to his diet, taking regular exercise and sleep. Physically energetic, he moved about quickly, in fact often dashed from place to place in a manner bordering on the spectacular. His voice was pleasing and carried well. Seldom did it fail him in his many speeches. Handsome, healthy, dashing, fortunately possessing a good voice, his physical characteristics stand near 100 per cent.

The mental traits of this leader which stand out are his capacity for observation, which enabled him to learn from almost everybody and from almost anything; his capacity for details, which made him especially valuable in the Mayor's office; his foresight, which gave him a picture of the Chicago of the future for which he planned; his judgment, which was so keen on political matters that he could forecast his election returns with almost uncanny accuracy. By far his most outstanding and important mental trait was his resourcefulness. Both in private life and in politics he was almost invariably equal to the occasion. So confident was he that he could find a way out that he rather encouraged

heckling at his political meetings, and it is true that his ability to answer hecklers or to get a laugh on them (equally effective) was one of the telling features of his campaigns.

He possessed a number of temperamental traits which were outstanding, and some of these operated to his disadvantage. Self-confidence is an advantage to any political leader, but it is likely to reach the point of vanity and make the leader an easy target for ridicule and caricature.¹ This is exactly what happened in the case of Harrison. While the ridicule he received probably did him little damage in the city, where his real worth was apparent through the mist of garrulous vanity, it certainly did injure him outside the city, this being in part the cause for his political reverse when he attempted to extend his activities beyond the city limits.

Closely connected with his egotism, and caused largely by it, was his inability to stand criticism. He answered his critics hotly both in season and out of season, his answers and counter-charges often exposing him to further ridicule and criticism.

His lack of tact and patience should go on the debit side of the ledger also, although these were not such serious handicaps. His deficiency in tact did not seem to injure him beyond causing a few laughs at his expense, while his impatience was in part compensated for by the fact that it was usually of short duration, and by his exceptional good humor when the flurry was over.

His geniality and his optimism brought him a host of friends of every class and description. Since the latter trait was the one most commonly found in the Chicagoan of his day, Carter Harrison's possession of it almost to the *n*th degree made him a typical Chicagoan—a boaster, a booster to an extent highly approved by his fellow-citizens, if he did appear somewhat ridiculous to outsiders.

¹ Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, II, 552-54.

He had a valuable type of humor. It was not of the mimetic variety, nor was it of the story-telling, after-dinner-speech brand. His humor was on the point itself, and in his campaigns it consisted chiefly of irony and sarcasm at the expense of the opposing forces.

Goodness of heart was another of his commendable and valuable qualities. There was no sham about this; it was a part of his character as well as a part of his reputation. Many an unfortunate profited by it, and in return remembered Harrison on election day. With his goodness of heart we associate his sense of fair play, which was rather fully developed. His belief in the square deal reacted in his favor when he was not being treated fairly, bringing him the support of some who shared his sense of fair play.

As a private citizen and as the head of the city's affairs his honesty was never questioned. It is a fact worthy of comment, and from which those interested in honest government might well take heart, that this man, who served in a day when municipal administrations were most frequently subject to scandals, should have been elected five times to the mayoralty on a record in which honesty played a conspicuous part. In politics Harrison was not above reproach, having on at least one occasion told his followers to get Republican money under false pretenses.

It was his social insight which enabled him to see such things as the political possibilities of the rapidly growing naturalized population in Chicago, the popularity of a liberal policy on social questions, and the futility of the opposition of the Protestant churches to him. His personal insight made him a good judge of men, so much so, in fact, that during his long term of office not a single one of his important appointees failed in his duties.

He was able to make personal and group contacts with widely varying types of men. By birth he belonged to the up-

per class, and through education and wealth he was able to remain an active figure in it. Because of his interest in men in general he learned and respected the lower classes. Only with the middle-class, Protestant church-going folk did he have nothing in common, and he wasted no time with them, preferring to play both ends against the middle. He was a respecter of personality, and he had a way of making the humblest citizen feel important—a gift which was possessed by an earlier Democrat who dominated the stage in Illinois, Stephen A. Douglas. This power of touching the common folk directly enabled him to keep his hold upon them without the aid of the group leader who might be holding the confidence of a nationality or economic group at a given moment.

His ability as an organizer is well illustrated by the fact that he held a large following of divers, even antagonistic, nationalities, and it is especially well illustrated by the organization he perfected in 1891, which very nearly succeeded in sending him to the mayoralty as an independent.

In spite of his domination over Chicago Democratic politics he had the knack of co-operation. He was not always willing to co-operate, however, as is shown by the sad plight in which he left his party in 1887, and by his bolt in 1891. In office he showed considerable capacity for keeping pleasant relations with his Council, being willing to compromise with it when he was in a tight place.

Harrison's courage and his dramatic qualities are rivals for first place among his temperamental traits. He possessed what the layman would call physical courage to a marked degree. All citizens were tremendously impressed by his boldness and daring in facing angry mobs single-handed, and equally impressed by his ability to quiet turbulent groups largely as a result of such daring. He had the courage to veto popular measures at times, and the courage to undertake

doubtful political ventures, although he was never foolhardy in these matters. He had none of the courage of the crusader, no particular convictions for which he was willing to sacrifice himself; he was no advocate of an unpopular cause. His courage expressed itself in practical matters and for feasible projects. It was the type of courage which does not rank so high when measured by ideal standards, but it was appreciated to the fullest by the practical electorate of Chicago, for which reason we place it as a most important characteristic.

He was a lover of the dramatic, and he loved to play the leading rôles. He loved brass bands, parades, pageants, even great funerals. He loved the applause which came to the man approved by the people. By nature he was dramatic; his dashing manner, his impulsiveness, his fine horsemanship, all gave him a decidedly dramatic flavor. Some of his dramatic actions seem to have been studied, for his entrance at meetings was usually too well-timed for the proper effect to be called accidental. When he arose to speak it was often an "exceedingly dramatic moment." He never missed taking a leading part in a procession if he had the opportunity to participate. It was through his dramatic appearances that Carter Harrison successfully advertised himself to the voters of Chicago.

Concluding the summary of his traits we indicate as the leaders: health, without which the public life is well-nigh impossible; resourcefulness, which made him a foe much to be feared in political conflict; courage, not of the highest type, but of the daring, physical type, easily understood and appreciated by municipal electors; dramatic ability, through which he presented himself on various occasions to an approving people ever interested in the dramatic and the spectacular.

We turn now to a summary of his technique. At first he

pretended to be reluctant to accept nominations, and still more reluctant to seek them. Although this hypocrisy was transparent, it may have helped him in his earlier political career with a public which seemed to desire that sort of thing. When he first sought the nomination for mayor, however much he may have advised his backers, he remained behind the scenes, a procedure in striking contrast to his later practice. Once in office, his success as mayor and his campaigning ability entitled him to regular renomination. As mayor he was also the boss of the Democratic organization; but when he retired temporarily it was necessary for him to build up an outside organization in order to return. This he did by bringing together his personal friends, men whom the regular organization had offended and those who thought that Carter Harrison was the "best mayor Chicago had ever had."

In the campaign he stuck to municipal issues, and after his first term in office the issue was his record versus the somewhat insincere plea of the Republicans for reform. The reformers' inconsistencies he never failed to point out, and his ridicule of the Citizens' tickets was often the most telling part of his campaign speech. He sought and usually obtained the help of the national party organization in his campaigns, although it does not appear that the aid was always enthusiastically given. He used all the regular devices of the campaign, such as innuendo regarding his opponents, but more especially their backers; the circulation of literature purporting to come from the opposition headquarters; sure promises of victory; and various parades and concerts. Most important, however, was his use of symbols. Other devices the opposing forces could use almost as well as he, but they had nothing to match his black slouch hat, and as little to match his Kentucky mare. These Harrison used at all times, but in the campaign he dramatized them, especially the hat.

Furthermore, his style of oratory was superior to that of his opponents, certainly as far as campaign purposes were concerned. He excelled in his ability to nail dramatically the false or weak charges of the Republicans. His give-and-take with his audience made him popular as a speaker, and his assertions were easier to follow and much more convincing with his typical audience than logic would have been.

Harrison's appeals were directed first of all to the members of the Democratic party, and he received the support of the members of his party, with the exception of a very few who turned against him for personal reasons. He did not ordinarily address appeals to Republicans, but he often boasted, and his boast is sustained by Republican newspapers, that he received support from a number of Republicans because his administrations were financially successful. His belief in free speech and in freedom in general, combined with his willingness to co-operate with Socialists, brought him the votes of practically all of the members of that party. His friendliness for the poor and his sympathy toward organized labor gave him the support of the vast majority of that group, while his known liberality on social questions, developed by residence abroad, contributed most significantly to his strength with the liquor interests, the gamblers, and other harpies of the latter type. For this same liberality he was very popular with the naturalized citizens; but not satisfied with this, he further courted their favor by identifying himself with their former country, by commending their thrift, etc. The secret of the strength of these appeals lies in their sincerity, although he probably exaggerated his interest in labor and the foreign born.

He had two enemies—the Protestant pulpit and the press—which he used with some skill. The pulpit he might have ignored because of the small number of Chicagoans for which it spoke; but he answered it, partly because it was a weakness

of his to answer his critics, but more for the reason that his answers clarified and strengthened his position with those groups with which he was most popular. While the hostility of the press enraged him and damaged his reputation outside the city, he kept his wits about him and capitalized a great number of its maladroitness attacks. The best illustration of this is furnished by his use of the *Tribune's* prophecy concerning what would happen to the city's finances should Harrison be elected mayor. Hardly less effective was his statement that the press, and not the Mayor, as the press had charged, had given Chicago its bad name. It is probable that the press helped rather than hindered him in Chicago, for it gave him a better opportunity to present his case, and his indignation at the press made him more effective on the platform. Even in this brief résumé we should not forget that the foreign-language press was for the most part friendly.

When we view Harrison as an officeholder we find that he made a judicious use of spoils. He retained a few good officials who were also good Republicans, whom he "featured." Furthermore, there is no doubt as to the high character and quality of the Democrats whom he appointed to important office. With the lower offices he was not so particular, but even here there were numerous cases in which pure Democratic faith was not adjudged to be a sufficient qualification. He hoped to win Republicans to himself and the Democratic party by keeping his administration out of the mire, and there is no doubt that his caution with regard to spoils turned his hope in the direction of reality. He exerted great effort to get the Democrats who were in office to work for his ticket, and he did not forget to visit the Republicans whom he had retained to inquire if they had not had a change of heart. Desirous as he was of getting political services from his appointees, there is no evidence that they were ever assessed for his campaigns.

Harrison favored business interests by lightening the force of ordinances effecting them. This he did by treating individual cases according to merit where the blanket enforcement of an ordinance might cause some hardships. He favored saloons in that he permitted them to violate closing laws, and gambling and prostitution in that he sought to regulate them rather than eradicate them. Harrison was not a man from whom favors were easily won, and it is probably more correct to say that his administration was favorable to the groups mentioned than it is to say that he freely granted favors. His business ability enabled him to see the problems of the business man, and nothing was more natural than that the Mayor's co-operation would be forthcoming; while with the other groups, his liberal ideas, so often referred to, caused him to be favorable.

By his coaxing, urging, and pleading with his Council, and through the use of his veto, he was able to reduce extravagance in the appropriations and otherwise to bring the Council into general accord with his policy of economy. Through his careful attention to expenditures, his care in letting contracts, his reductions in salaries, etc., he effected savings on the administrative side. The result of the whole was that the city was freed of the "blot of scrip," and her bonds mounted in price. For his conspicuously successful handling of municipal finance Harrison received the indorsement of many substantial business men of the Republican party.

There was politics in Harrison's administrations; but if we judge by the standards of his own day, his administrations were efficient. He was shrewd enough to know that an important political asset was ever to be found in a creditable administrative record. Not only that, but his large holdings in real estate in the city gave him a very personal interest in efficient, especially in an economically efficient, government.

We should not pass over the element of luck in Carter Harrison's career. It was the great fire which placed him fairly on the road to a public life. His first nomination to Congress came because more prominent Democrats felt that there was no chance of success. He was elected to Congress after his second nomination only by the chance shift of one of the Republican's backers. His first election as mayor was due in part to the fact that he was opposed by a Republican who was unpopular with a considerable element in his party. We add to all this the fact that he came into politics just in time to meet the Germans coming out of the Sabbatarianism and prohibitionism of the Chicago Republicans.

The time and place had something to do with his success. In spite of his travels and the resulting friendship for all peoples, he was a sturdy, robust American even for his own flag-waving generation. Once more we say, he was a typical Chicagoan. The citizens of that area were much given to boasting; so was Carter H. Harrison. They loved every sort of display; so did Harrison. The people were optimistic; the old man on Ashland Avenue was a confirmed optimist. They loved boldness, audacity, success; their hero was the incarnation of all three. Inordinately proud of their city and supremely confident that its glorious present was to be transcended by a still more glorious future, they honored the man who set the pace for them with his foresight, his vision, his vivid imagination.

Pre-eminently successful in local politics, he was not a success in larger fields. Why was this man of family, education, and wealth unable to make headway outside of the city? Why was the resourceful, courageous, and dramatic politician unable to attain success over a wider area through these qualities? Why did this superb campaigner, who could appeal to so many different groups, who used his enemies so cleverly, and whose record in office was quite satisfactory, die a local

politician? The reasons for this are elusive, but several are fairly apparent. In the first place, he had the executive type of mind and disposition; he wanted to act and act quickly. Legislative business bored him. Furthermore, he was such a good representative of his constituency and his city that he was unable to see the public interest in a broad light. The idea that he represented a district rather than the whole country, which has blighted many legislative careers in America, narrowed Carter Harrison's vision to such an extent that many of his critics say he had no vision. The truth is, however, that he had vision a-plenty, but it was vision only for his Chicago, a type of vision which, with some justice, was in part the cause of his remaining a local politician.

Not fitted for a legislative career, he attempted to rise higher in politics by seeking the office of Governor of Illinois, a post for which he was doubtless well qualified. The explanation of his failure to win that office is fairly simple: Illinois went regularly Republican by substantial majorities. Harrison's defeat assumes the aspect of a victory when it is recalled that he ran well ahead of Cleveland in the industrial urban counties and slightly ahead of him in the rural counties, and that he reduced the previous Republican majority by nearly two-thirds.

Yet one might reasonably ask the question: Why was he not able to turn Illinois into a Democratic state, as he had turned Chicago into a Democratic city? There are a number of possible answers to this question. He was not so fortunate in his opponent for governor as he was in his opponent when he first ran for mayor, for Richard Oglesby was one of the most popular Republicans in Illinois, and he had served a term as governor some ten years before. We might say, then, that while he had won the mayoralty through good luck, he lost in his race for governor partly through bad luck. Then, too, it is well known that party ties bind more strongly in

state and national politics than in municipal politics, a condition which probably prevented Harrison from making the inroads on the Republicans in the state election comparable to those he had made in the city election. Furthermore, he was less able to counteract the hostility of the press outside the city, the rural population not having the opportunity to see and hear Harrison as often as the Chicagoans.

Some of his traits, as, for instance, his geniality and his goodness of heart, were learned primarily through personal contact, a fact which doubtless made them less useful in a campaign extending over an entire state. His ability to appeal to racial and nationality and class groups was not as valuable in the state campaign as it was in his municipal campaigns, for the population outside Cook County was primarily rural and native. It is probable also that his oratory was not as effective in the rural sections of the state as it was in the city, for only a small percentage of the country folk could get to hear him, and his speeches were not ordinarily convincing when reduced to writing.

His strength in the city was, in a sense, his weakness in the country. The extremely liberal views he held on social questions, which appealed so strongly to the foreign born, the radical, and the loose elements in the city, were quite contrary to the opinions of those in the agricultural counties. Assuming that his views had not been so greatly at variance with those of the rural voters, it is probable that he would have had still a handicap to overcome, for "down-staters" or "up-staters" are usually skeptical of the municipal politician. Finally, his stand against free trade, which may have won a few Republicans' votes in Chicago in his mayoralty campaigns, certainly did not profit him with the Democratic farmers, who were decidedly against a tariff in the eighties.

In Harrison's case we may see something of the difficulties which other municipal leaders meet when they launch

out over wider political seas. Certainly the fact that they have often trimmed their sails to meet the peculiar needs of the municipal population is likely to retard their progress on the open sea, and the ill wind of the metropolitan press, which they have in many cases offended, may give them a rough voyage.

Carter Harrison, then, was by talent and force of circumstances a local politician, and it is as such that we attempt to indicate his impress upon Chicago politics. A little over three years after the death of Harrison, his son, still often referred to as Carter H. Harrison, Jr., was carried to the mayoralty, at the age of thirty-seven and with almost no political experience, by the momentum of his father's name. Certainly as far as the son was concerned the personality and prestige of Carter H. Harrison, Sr., remained a political force long after his bones were interred. The son lacked the picturesque qualities of his father, and he had not his father's ability as a speaker, but he made his appeals to about the same groups and he took up an issue which his father had not had, the traction issue, on which he championed the rights of the people with such good political effect that he was accused of "nursing" the issue. He followed the elder's methods in the discharge of the duties of his office, earning somewhat the same reputation as a guardian of the tax-payers' interests and as a conscientious official. It is worthy of note that the younger Harrison, like his father, was mayor for four consecutive terms (1897-1905), and that, just like his father, he was then six years in retirement, from which he emerged, again following the example of the elder, to be elected mayor for the fifth time.

All, or practically all, of Harrison's successors have used the race and nationality appeals, although this is such an obviously advantageous course of procedure that we should be slow to credit this to Harrison's example. Essentially the

same statement should be made concerning liberality on social questions. Some local leaders have seemingly attempted to follow his technique more specifically; for instance, his son made some effort to capitalize the bicycle as his father had capitalized the horse. Another local politician followed the example of the elder Harrison on one occasion by affecting a peculiar type of hat. There is evidence also that Harrison's fondness for, and use of, shows and displays is being followed by one of our contemporaries, William Hale Thompson. We cannot, of course, be sure about any of these things, as the devices may have been adopted without any thought of imitation, or even without the knowledge that the elder Harrison had used them. Aside from the start his name gave his son, and the example he set for his son as an administrator, there is no certainty as to what permanent impress he left upon Chicago politics. He is well remembered and often enthusiastically spoken of by old citizens because of his striking characteristics, his interesting and effective technique, and his capacity in office; but this should not be confused with the answer to the question as to how extensively his methods are followed at present.

In concluding this study, those qualities which were especially significant in contributing to Harrison's political success should be emphasized. We should remember, just as all Chicagoans who saw him remember, a dashing, handsome figure, mounted on a high-spirited Kentucky thoroughbred, which he rode like a centaur, riding daily through the streets and tipping his black slouch hat and smiling a greeting to the thousands who recognized him. When under the least strain of excitement the graceful trot or canter was turned into a sweeping gallop, and the kindly gentleman became a charging cavalry leader for whom hats went up in enthusiasm. On the day of his last election "Mr. Harrison, splendidly mounted and riding like a marshal of the empire, galloped

from polling-place to polling-place urging his followers to press forward to the victory."¹

His public life was marked by many exhibitions of dramatic courage and daring. We recall his forcing his way into a polling booth in a tough precinct and compelling a recount of the votes, his desire to reveal his presence at the Hay-market when inflammatory speeches were being made just prior to the time the bomb was thrown, his quieting the strikers at the Deering Harvester Works after they had disarmed the police and driven them away.

In matters purely political he was hardly less courageous. Mr. Brookfield, a local Republican leader, said the word "surrender" was not a part of Harrison's vocabulary,² although this statement should be modified slightly when it is remembered that he refused to campaign against heavy odds in 1887. But he reveled in contest if there was any possibility of gain. He enjoyed his fights, and, characteristic of the brave warrior, he carried a smile as well as a sword. "He fought his fights without bearing grudges," said John R. Walsh, one of his most active political enemies, "and his opponents seemed to end any ill will against him with equal readiness."³ Although temporarily a little testy over a defeat, he soon became philosophical. In victory, his usual portion, he was magnanimous.⁴ This frontier type of courage, with its frequent and dramatic manifestations, is seldom exhibited in vain anywhere at any time, and it certainly won the admiration and votes of the Chicagoans in the eighties and nineties.

His fearlessness had other important political bearings. It led him to see that there was nothing particularly dangerous in Socialism as it existed in Chicago in his day; so that instead of joining the ranks of the majority of the property-

¹ *Springfield Republican* (October 29, 1893).

² *New York Times* (October 29, 1893), p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Quincy Herald* (October 29, 1893), editorial.

owners and crying that private property was in danger, he co-operated with the Socialists and won their party over to his standard. He was not frightened by the activities of the Anarchists in Chicago, and, while his leniency toward them and his advocacy of free speech may have damaged him politically for the time being, there is hardly any doubt that his stand during that crisis increased his majority at his final election some years later.

Harrison's big heart drew the populace to him as did the characteristics just mentioned. His heart went out in genuine sympathy to the poor and the oppressed, who never tired of speaking of him as their friend. While these classes kept their distance, they nevertheless understood clearly that there was a friendly relation between them and the Mayor. Harrison's critics might scoff, but his many acts of kindness were well known to the people, and they clung to him.

His success with the elements mentioned before placed him somewhat ahead of his party, but his talents in dealing with the naturalized voter gave him a still more significant lead. He was the first Chicago politician to see clearly the advantage of cultivating the foreign-born electors. His liberal ideas, acquired in part by two years of residence on the Continent as a young man, harmonized fairly well with their own, and he took pains to make sure that they were aware of the fact. He further cultivated their friendship by genuine little services, as when he recovered the German's coat, by associating with them on every possible occasion, speaking their language, drinking their beer, etc. In dealing with these nationalities, and in dealing with other groups as well, Harrison made his own contacts. By this means his strength was far more secure than it would have been had he had to rely upon group leaders for the delivery of votes.

His strength beyond his own party came also from those lawless elements—gamblers and other harpies—which he

subjected to a sort of quasi-official regulation satisfactory to both Mayor and the parties directly concerned, and indeed seemingly satisfactory to the great majority of the body politic. Then we should not forget the support of Republicans who liked his economy in administration.

Many people liked Harrison because he had no boss. He had no boss for various reasons. In the first place, he came into power when the Democratic party in the city was poorly organized; when it had for a long time lacked the "cohesive power of public plunder." In the second place, he needed no boss, knowing the game so well himself. Then who could imagine a man of his type submitting to a boss? Due to circumstances, capacity, and temperament, Harrison was without a boss, and for this reason an aged minister, who several times carried the Prohibition banner in congressional campaigns, spoke most highly of Carter Harrison, the mayor who was his own boss.¹ Of course he was sometimes charged with having a boss, and Mike McDonald, the leading gambler of Chicago, was usually mentioned in this connection. This, however, was only an election charge, for we have learned that Mike's "store" was smashed when he refused to obey the Mayor. The opinion of the vast majority is that Harrison "never hesitated to use his power to enforce stern discipline among the vicious elements, and they knew it so well that they rarely committed an overt act."²

Harrison has been repeatedly held up as the cavalier, and he certainly was the handsome, vain, jovial, liberal, picturesque, and dramatic type. He was proud of being a cavalier through and through, and he doubtless would have indignantly denied that he had anything in common with Puritans. Yet he possessed some virtuous traits which, rightly or wrongly, are more commonly associated with the Puritans. Of course, he was not pious, and he did not believe in "blue laws"; but he was honest in all his dealing. He was conscientious.

¹ Rev. Farmiloe.

² *New York Journal* (October 30, 1893).

tious and faithful in the discharge of his duties. No mayor of Chicago either before or since Harrison's administrations had spent more time at his desk, and in his attention to the progress of public works and in his inspection of practically every matter in which the city had an interest Harrison is probably without a peer. He prided himself upon being stingy with the people's money, and few deny that the good Puritan virtue of frugality was present at the City Hall when Harrison was mayor.

These sturdy virtues were often lost from the view of those who placed piety and the regimentation of private conduct above all things. This was probably the case with the Protestant clergy. The Republican newspapers had to minimize Harrison's good qualities for partisan reasons. In spite of this double-barreled hostility, thinking business men saw the desirable elements in Harrison; and while the humbler citizen could not answer the pulpit and the press in well-rounded sentences, something told him that Harrison was not only the finest-looking and most friendly mayor Chicago had ever had, but that he was the "best mayor Chicago ever had."

Here we leave Carter Henry Harrison I, known to all largely through his ability to advertise himself through his native and acquired dramatic characteristics; admired by all for his conspicuous courage. He was supported by the majority because he had no boss and would tolerate none, because of his capacity for friendship with every class, race, and creed, because of his liberal views on social and political questions, and because of his frugality, integrity, and strict attention to the duties of his office. Although not a demagogue, he possessed the superficial and well-nigh indispensable characteristics of the politician which, happily combined with more fundamental qualities, brought him repeated triumphs at the polls, the final and most signal honor being his election as World's Fair mayor.

APPENDIX A

ELECTION FIGURES

1. MAYORALTY ELECTIONS IN CHICAGO FROM 1871 TO 1893¹

November 7, 1871	
Joseph Medill, Rep., Citizen.....	16,126
Charles C. P. Holden, Dem.....	5,988
November 4, 1873	
H. D. Colvin, Peoples.....	28,791
L. L. Bond, Law and Order.....	18,540
July 12, 1876	
Monroe Heath, Rep.....	19,248
Mark Kimball, Dem.....	7,509
J. J. McGrath, Ind.....	3,363
April 3, 1877	
Monroe Heath, Rep.....	30,881
Perry Smith, Dem.....	19,449
April 1, 1879	
Carter H. Harrison, Sr., Dem.....	25,685
Abner M. Wright, Rep.....	20,496
Ernst Schmidt, Soc.....	11,829
April 5, 1881	
Carter H. Harrison, Sr., Dem.....	35,668
John M. Clark, Rep.....	27,925
Timothy O'Mara, Ind.....	764
George Schilling, Soc.....	240
April 3, 1883	
Carter H. Harrison, Sr., Dem.....	41,225
Eugene Cary, Rep.....	30,963
April 7, 1885	
Carter H. Harrison, Sr., Dem.....	43,352
Sidney Smith, Rep.....	42,977
William H. Bush, Pro.....	221

¹ Figures from *Daily News Almanac* (1926), p. 813.

April 5, 1887

John A. Roche, Rep.	51,249
Robert L. Nelson, Labor.	23,490
Joseph L. Whitlock, Pro.	372

April 2, 1889

DeWitt C. Cregier, Dem.	57,340
John A. Roche, Rep.	45,328
Ira J. Mason, Pro.	410
Chas. Orchardson, Soc.	303

April 7, 1891

Hempstead Washburne, Rep.	46,957
DeWitt C. Cregier, Dem.	46,588
Carter H. Harrison, Sr., Dem. (Ind.)	42,931
Elmer Washburn, Citizen.	24,027
Thomas J. Morgan, Soc.	2,376

April 4, 1893

Carter H. Harrison, Sr., Dem.	114,237
S. W. Allerton, Rep.	93,148
DeWitt C. Cregier, U. Citizen.	3,033
J. Ehrenpreis, Soc. Labor.	1,000

2. ELECTIONS IN THE SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF
ILLINOIS FROM 1872 TO 1876¹

November, 1872

Jasper D. Ward, Rep.	12,182
Carter H. Harrison, Sr., Dem.	8,873

November, 1874

Carter H. Harrison, Sr., Dem.	9,189
Jasper D. Ward, Rep.	9,181

November, 1876

Carter H. Harrison, Sr., Dem.	14,732
George R. Davis, Rep.	14,090
S. F. Norton, Greenback.	118

¹ Bennett, *Politics and Politicians*, pp. 184, 185, 187.

3. ILLINOIS GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS FROM 1880 TO 1888¹

November, 1880

Shelby M. Cullom, Rep.	314,565
Lyman Trumbull, Dem.	277,532
A. J. Streeter, Greenback.	28,898

November, 1884

Richard J. Oglesby, Rep.	334,234
Carter H. Harrison, Sr., Dem.	319,635
Jesse Harper, Peo.	8,605
James B. Hobbs, Pro.	10,905

November, 1888

Joseph W. Fifer, Rep.	367,860
John M. Palmer, Dem.	355,313
David H. Harts, Pro.	18,874
Willis W. Jones, U. L.	6,394

4. CHICAGO VOTE FOR PRESIDENT FROM 1876 TO 1892²

Year	Republican	Democrat
1876.	28,574	33,645
1880.	42,972	38,311
1884.	51,420	48,530
1888.	60,102	63,706
1892.	100,849	136,474

¹ *Daily News Almanac* (1926), p. 812.² *Ibid.*, p. 813; *Chicago Tribune* (November 9, 1876), p. 7; (November 4, 1880), p. 6.

APPENDIX B

1. TABULAR ANALYSIS OF HARRISON'S STRENGTH BY WARDS, ELECTION OF 1893

Wards	Native Voters	Naturalized* Voters	Harrison's Vote	Allerton's† Vote
1.....	4,791‡	1,740	3,369	1,417
2.....	5,147	1,619	2,796	2,366
3.....	5,275	1,964	2,620	2,914
4.....	5,950	2,152	2,454	3,678
5.....	3,679	4,499	3,987	2,665
6.....	2,863	5,786	5,499	1,909
7.....	1,732	4,376	3,003	1,818
8.....	1,661	4,142	3,832	924
9.....	2,178	5,006	4,139	2,115
10.....	3,542	5,510	4,841	3,111
11.....	5,785	2,662	3,529	3,398
12.....	10,511	4,359	4,969	6,593
13.....	5,967	3,378	3,689	3,470
14.....	2,298	6,161	3,504	3,206
15.....	2,651	6,378	4,077	2,993
16.....	1,364	7,229	4,901	1,957
17.....	1,718	3,177	2,493	1,229
18.....	5,319	2,542	4,129	2,036
19.....	4,232	4,392	5,464	1,819
20.....	2,310	2,802	2,110	2,153
21.....	2,360	3,278	3,016	2,389
22.....	2,805	3,711	2,626	2,687
23.....	2,275	4,443	3,160	2,278
24.....	6,035	2,395	3,353	3,066
25.....	3,421	2,882	2,163	3,328
26.....	2,666	4,581	2,955	2,846
27.....	1,422	1,441	925	1,459
28.....	1,396	1,463	1,297	1,139
29.....	3,294	4,121	4,352	1,879
30.....	6,811	6,675	5,188	5,390
31.....	4,869	2,391	1,865	3,805
32.....	7,076	2,132	2,388	5,067
33.....	2,022	3,788	2,578	1,994
34.....	5,010	4,506	2,961	3,971
Totals.....	131,335	128,212	114,237	93,148

* *Daily News Almanac* (1894), p. 318. The figures given are for the registered voters of 1892. These were "compiled from the registration sheets in the office of the election commissioners by Lars P. Nelson, of the Special Assessment Bureau."

† *Ibid.*, pp. 319 ff.

‡ Majorities are italicized.

Wards	Leading Economic Groups*	Leading Business†
1.	Business men; vice	Wholesale; retail
2.	Middle class	Residence; manufacturing
3.	Well-to-do	Residence; manufacturing
4.	Well-to-do	Residence; manufacturing
5.	Laborers	Manufacturing
6.	Laborers	Manufacturing
7.	Laborers and middle class	Manufacturing; retail
8.	Laborers	Manufacturing
9.	Laborers	Manufacturing; residence
10.	Laborers	Manufacturing; residence
11.	Middle class	Residence
12.	Middle and wealthy classes	Residence
13.	Middle and well-to-do	Residence; manufacturing
14.	Well-to-do; laborers	Residence
15.	Laborers	Manufacturing; residence
16.	Laborers	Manufacturing
17.	Laborers	Manufacturing
18.	All classes	Manufacturing; residence
19.	Laborers	Manufacturing; residence
20.	Laborers	Manufacturing
21.	Well-to-do; laborers	Residence
22.	Well-to-do; laborers	Residence
23.	Laborers	Manufacturing
24.	Well-to-do	Residence
25.	Well-to-do	Residence
26.	Laborers; well-to-do	Residence
27.	Farmers; laborers	Market gardens
28.	Laborers	Market gardens (?)
29.	Laborers	Stockyards, etc.
30.	Laborers; middle class	Residence
31.	Middle class	Residence
32.	Well-to-do	Residence
33.	Laborers	Manufacturing
34.	Farmers; laborers	Market gardens; manufacturing

* Census, 1890, "Vital and Social Statistics," Part II, pp. 161-81.

† *Ibid.*

Wards	Leading Foreign* Nationalities
1.....	Ger., Ir.
2.....	Ger., Ir., Eng.
3.....	Ger., Ir., Eng., Can., Swed.
4.....	Ger., Ir., Eng., Can., Swed.
5.....	Ger., Ir., Swed., Eng., Can.
6.....	Ger., Ir., Eng., Swed., Can.
7.....	Ger., Rus., Ir., Boh., Aust.
8.....	Boh., Ger., Ir., Aust.
9.....	Ger., Boh., Ir., Poles
10.....	Ger., Ir., Boh., Aust., Swed.
11.....	Ir., Ger., Norw., Eng., Can.
12.....	Ir., Ger., Eng., Can., Scotch
13.....	Ir., Ger., Eng., Can., Norw.
14.....	<i>Ger.</i> , Norw., Dane., Swed., Aust.
15.....	<i>Ger.</i> , Swed., Ir., Norw., Dane
16.....	Poles, Ger., Norw., Swed.
17.....	Norw., Ger., Ir., Swed., It.
18.....	Ir., Ger., Eng., Can.
19.....	Ir., Ger., Rus., Can., Boh.
20.....	<i>Ger.</i> , Ir.
21.....	<i>Ger.</i> , Ir.
22.....	<i>Ger.</i> , Swed., Ir.
23.....	Swed., Ir., Ger.
24.....	Ger., Ir., Can., Eng.
25.....	Ger., Swed., Ir., Eng.
26.....	<i>Ger.</i> , Swed., Eng., Ir.
27.....	Ger., Swed.
28.....	Ir., Ger., Can., Eng.
29.....	<i>Ir.</i> , German, Eng., Can.
30.....	Ger., Ir., Eng., Swed., Can.
31.....	Ger., Ir., Eng., Can.
32.....	Ir., Eng., Ger., Can.
33.....	Ger., Poles, Ir., Eng.
34.....	Ger., Ir., Eng., Can.

* *Ibid.* Nationalities are listed in the order of their number of registered voters. Where one nationality distinctly predominates it has been italicized.

2. SIGNIFICANT FIGURES. ILLINOIS STATE-NATIONAL ELECTION, 1884¹

A. URBAN-INDUSTRIAL-FOREIGN-BORN COUNTRIES

Counties	Native	Foreign-Born*	Cleveland's Vote (Pres.)	Harrison's Vote (Gov.)
Adams.....	49,107	10,028 (Ger.)	6,700	6,809
Cook.....	365,109	242,415 (Ger., Ir., Swed., Nor., Boh.)	60,609	65,233
Kane.....	33,874	11,065 (Ger., Ir.)	3,558	3,615
Knox.....	31,723	6,621 (Swed.)	2,489	2,500
Peoria.....	44,469	10,886 (Ger., Ir.)	6,737	6,824
Rock Island.....	27,903	10,399 (Swed., Ger., Ir.)	2,785	2,851
St. Clair.....	45,834	15,972 (Ger.)	6,919	7,003
Will.....	37,265	16,157 (Ger., Ir.)	4,722	5,029
Winnebago.....	23,915	6,590 (Swed., Ir.)	1,792	1,814
Totals.....			95,711	101,678
Harrison's lead.....				5,967
Harrison's lead (not counting Cook County).....				743

* Leading nationalities are indicated in the order of their numbers.

¹ *Daily News Almanac* (1885), pp. 31 ff.; Census, "Population, 1880," pp. 504, 505.

B. TYPICAL RURAL-NATIVE COUNTIES

County	Cleveland's Vote (Pres.)	Harrison's Vote (Gov.)
Clay.....	1,690	1,693
Crawford.....	1,872	1,879
Effingham.....	2,633	2,642
Fulton.....	4,899	4,887
Hancock.....	3,875	3,930
Jefferson.....	2,392	2,449
Macoupin.....	4,574	4,608
Montgomery.....	3,298	3,313
Tazewell.....	3,383	3,422
Union.....	2,243	2,255
White.....	2,723	2,728
Woodford.....	2,409	2,434
Totals.....	35,991	36,240
Harrison's lead.....		249

C. TOTALS IN THE STATE-NATIONAL ELECTION

President		Governor	
Blaine.....	337,473	Oglesby.....	334,234
Cleveland.....	312,351	Harrison.....	319,634
Blaine's plurality..	25,122	Oglesby's plurality..	14,600

Blaine's lead over Oglesby, 3,239.

Harrison's lead over Cleveland, 7,284.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. LEADERSHIP

A. LEADERSHIP IN GENERAL

I. BOOKS

- ALLPORT, F. H. *Social Psychology*. Boston, 1924.
- BABBITT, IRVING. *Democracy and Leadership*. New York, 1924.
- BALDWIN, J. M. *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development*. New York, 1906.
- BENTLEY, A. F. *Process of Government*. Chicago, 1908.
- BERMAN, LOUIS. *The Personal Equation*. New York, 1925.
- BIGHAM, CLIVE. *The Prime Ministers of Britain*. New York, 1922.
- BRYCE, JAMES. *Modern Democracies*. 2 Vols. New York, 1921.
- CHILD, C. M. *Physiological Foundations of Behavior*. New York, 1924.
- CHRISTENSEN, ARTHUR. *Politics and Crowd Morality* (translated by A. Cecil Curtis). London, 1915.
- CONWAY, W. M. *The Crowd in Peace and War*. New York, 1915.
- COOLEY, C. H. *Human Nature and the Social Order*. New York, 1902.
- DAVIES, G. R. *Social Environment*. Chicago, 1917.
- DOWNNEY, JUNE E. *The Will—Temperament and Its Testing*. New York, 1923.
- EDGEELL, BEATRICE. *Theories of Memory*. Oxford, 1924.
- ESPINAS, A. V. *Des Sociétés animales*. Paris, 1878.
- GOWIN, E. B. *The Executive and His Control of Men*. New York, 1915.
- GROVES, E. R. *Personality and Social Adjustment*. New York, 1923.
- HERRICK, C. J. *Neurological Foundations of Animal Behavior*. New York, 1924.
- JAMES, WILLIAM. *Memories and Studies*. New York, 1911.
- JASTROW, JOSEPH. *Character and Temperament*. New York, 1915.
- KRETSCHMER, ERNST. *Physique and Character* (translated by W. J. H. Sprott). New York, 1925.
- LE BON, GUSTAV. *The Crowd*. London, 1920.
- LEOPOLD, LEWIS. *Prestige: A Psychological Study of Social Estimates*. New York, 1913.
- LIPPMANN, WALTER. *The Phantom Public*. New York, 1925.
- MAYER, ÉMILE. *Psychologie du commandement*. Paris, 1924.

- MERRIAM, CHARLES E. *The American Party System*. New York, 1922.
New Aspects of Politics. Chicago, 1925.
- MICHELS, ROBERT. *Political Parties* (translated by Eden and Cedar Paul). New York, 1915. *Bedeutende Manner Charakterologische Studien*. Leipzig, 1927.
- MILLER, A. H. *Leadership*. New York, 1920.
- MUMFORD, EBENE. *Origins of Leadership*. Chicago, 1909.
- MUNRO, W. B. *Personality in Politics*. New York, 1924.
- PEARSON, KARL. *National Life from the Standpoint of Science*. New York, 1900.
- RATZENHOFER, GUSTAV. *Wesen und Zweck der Politik*. Leipzig, 1893.
- ROSS, E. A. *Social Control*. New York, 1901.
- SCHELL, E. H. *The Technique of Executive Control*. 2d ed. New York, 1926.
- SMALL, A. W. *General Sociology*. Chicago, 1905.
- SPENDER, J. A. *The Public Life*. 2 Vols. London and New York, 1925.
- TAUSSIG, P. W. *Inventors and Money Makers*. New York, 1915.
- THOMAS, W. I., AND ZNANIECKI, FLORIAN. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. 5 vols. Chicago, 1918.
- VÉRAN, JULES. *Comment on devient député, sénateur, ministre*. Paris, 1924.
- WHEELER, W. M. *Social Life among Insects*. New York, 1923.

2. ARTICLES

- CLARK, L. P. "Unconscious Motives Underlying the Personalities of Great Statesmen and Their Relation to Epoch-Making Events," *Psycho-analytical Review*, 1923.
- CHAPIN, F. S. "Leadership and Group Activity," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII, 141.
- THOMAS, W. I. "The Province of Social Psychology," *American Journal of Sociology*, X, 445.
- TROTTER, WILFRED. "Herd Instinct," *Sociological Review*, 1908.

B. SPECIAL STUDIES IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

- DUNN, MARGARET CAROL. "Jane Addams," A.M. thesis (unpublished) University of Chicago, 1926.
- GOSNELL, HAROLD F. *Boss Platt and His New York Machine*. Chicago 1924.
- MERRIAM, CHARLES E. *Four American Party Leaders (Lincoln, Roosevelt, Bryan, Wilson)*. New York, 1926.
- PEEL, ROY VICTOR. "James Gillespie Blaine," Ph.D. thesis (unpublished), University of Chicago, 1927.

ROBERTSON, PEARL LOUISE. "Grover Cleveland," A.M. thesis (unpublished), University of Chicago, 1925.

STEVENSON, MARIETTA. "William Jennings Bryan," Ph.D. thesis (unpublished), University of Chicago, 1926.

II. CARTER H. HARRISON

A. BACKGROUND

1. KENTUCKY

BROWN, ALEXANDER. *The Cabells and Their Kin: A Memorial Volume of History, Biography, and Genealogy*. New York, 1895.

COLLINS, LEWIS. *History of Kentucky*. 2 vols. Revised . . . by his son, Richard H. Collins. Louisville, 1924.

CONNELLEY, W. E., AND COULTER, E. M. *History of Kentucky*, 5 vols. Edited by Charles Kerr. New York and Chicago, 1922.

JOHNSON, E. POLK. *A History of Kentucky and Kentuckians*. . . . 3 vols. New York and Chicago, 1912.

McELROY, ROBERT McNUTT. *Kentucky in the Nation's History*. New York, 1909.

PERRIN, W. H., BATTLE, J. H., AND KRIFFIN, G. C. *Kentucky: A History of the State*. Chicago, 1887.

PETER, ROBERT. *History of Fayette County, Kentucky*. . . . Edited by W. H. Perrin. Chicago, 1882.

RANCK, G. W. *History of Lexington, Kentucky*. Cincinnati, 1872.

SHALER, N. S. *Kentucky: A Pioneer Commonwealth*. New York and Boston, 1884.

SMITH, Z. F. *The History of Kentucky*. . . . Louisville, 1901.

TOWNSEND, J. W. "Carter Henry Harrison, Kentuckian," *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (Frankfort, May, 1926), Vol. XXIV, No. 71.

Lexington Observer and Reporter (newspaper).

2. CHICAGO

a) Books

AHERN, M. L. *The Political History of Chicago* . . . 1837-87. Chicago, 1886.

American Newspaper Annual.

ANDREAS, A. T. *History of Chicago*. . . . 3 vols. Chicago, 1884-86.

BENNETT, F. O. *Politics and Politicians of Chicago, Cook County, and Illinois* . . . 1787-1887. Chicago, 1886.

- CURREY, J. S. *Chicago: Its History, Its Builders*. . . . 5 vols. Chicago, 1912.
- The Daily News Almanac and Political Register* (published annually since 1885).
- FLINN, JOHN J. *Standard Guide to Chicago*. Chicago, 1891.
- GROSSER, HUGO S. *Chicago: A Review of Its Government and History from 1837 to 1906*. Chicago, 1906.
- The *Inter-Ocean*, "Centennial History of the City of Chicago." Chicago, 1905.
- KIRKLAND, CAROLINE (editor). *Chicago's Yesterdays: A Sheaf of Reminiscences*. Chicago, 1919.
- KIRKLAND, JOSEPH. *The Story of Chicago*. Chicago, 1892.
- MOSES AND KIRKLAND. *History of Chicago, Illinois*. 2 vols. Chicago and New York, 1895.
- SPARLING, S. E. *Municipal History and Present Organization of the City of Chicago*. Madison, 1898.
- United States Census Reports*.

b) Articles

- ABBOT, W. J. "Newspapers of Chicago and Their Makers," *Review of Reviews*, XI, 646.
- KING, C. "Chicago, the City of the World's Fair," *Cosmopolitan*, XII, 37.
- RIDPATH, J. C. "Mixed Populations of Chicago," *Chautauquan*, XII, 483.
- STEAD, F. H. "Civic Life of Chicago," *Review of Reviews*, VIII, 178.
- STONE, M. E. "Chicago Before the Fair, After, and Today," *Scribner's Magazine*, XVII, 663.

B. PUBLIC LIFE¹

a) Books

- ABBOT, W. J. *Carter Henry Harrison: A Memoir*. New York, 1895.
- HARRISON, C. H. *A Race with the Sun*. Chicago, 1889. *A Summer's Outing and The Old Man's Story*. Chicago, 1891.
- KINGSBURY, J. B. "Municipal Personnel Policy in Chicago, 1895-1915," Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1923. Material part published in *Public Personnel Studies*, Vol. III, Nos. 11 and 12, and Vol. IV, Nos. 2, 5 and 6.
- KRAUS, ADOLF. *Reminiscences and Comments*. Chicago, 1925.
- MELVILLE, G. W. *Chicago's Mayors*. Chicago, 1887.

¹ See also titles under II, A, 2.

b) *Government Publications*

Congressional Record, 1st Session, 44th Congress, Vol. IV, Parts 1 and 4, and Index. *Ibid.*, 2d Session, 44th Congress, Vol. V, Part 3. *Ibid.*, 2d Session, 45th Congress, Vol. VII, Part 3 and Index.

Proceedings of the City Council of the City of Chicago, April 26, 1879, to May 3, 1880. Same for other municipal years.

Proceedings of a Memorial Meeting of the City Council of the City of Chicago, . . . also *Proceedings of a Meeting of Ex-Aldermen and Ex-Employees of the City*, . . . including *A Biographical Sketch of Carter H. Harrison*. Chicago, 1893.

c) *Articles*

ABBOT, W. J. "The Carter Harrison Dynasty in Chicago," *Munsey*, XXIX, 809-15.

GRAVES, J. T. "Carter Harrison the Second," *Cosmopolitan*, LIV, 353-55.

d) *Newspapers*

1. Chicago: *Daily News*, *Evening Journal*, *Evening Post*, *Herald*, *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, *Inter-Ocean*, *Mail*, *Record*, *Times*, *Tribune*.

2. Others: *New York Journal*, *New York Times*, *Quincy* (Illinois) *Herald*, *Springfield* (Massachusetts) *Republican*.

INDEX

INDEX

- Abbot, Willis C., xi, 3 n., 117, 121, 179, 207, 210, 217, 218, 255, 261
- Abendpost*, 220
- Allerton, Samuel, 97
- Ancestry: in Kentucky, 7 ff.; in Virginia, 3 ff.
- Armour, P. D., 265
- Benner, Matt, 260
- Bismarck, Prince, 57, 60, 89, 191
- Burwell, Elizabeth, 5
- Business administration: attention to routine, 261 ff.; financial economy, 263 ff.; official host, 265, 266; summary removal, 260, 261
- Cameron, Charlie, 136
- Campaign issues: Harrison stands on record in office, 148 ff.; Republicans call for reform, 149 ff.
- Campaign strategy: blare and trumpets, 158, 159; bold assertion, 156, 157; in the enemy's garb, 157, 158; illusions of victory, 155; seeking national aid, 152 ff.; use of symbols, 159 ff.; walking the tight-rope, 156
- Career in Kentucky: companions and recreations, 16; early interest in public affairs, 19 ff.; the Kentucky planter, 19; marriage, 23; mother and son, 15
- Carter, Anne, 5
- Carter, Robert, 5, 6
- Chicago: business enterprises—general business, 39, manufactures, 36, 37, meat-packing industry, 37, 38, real estate business, 38, 39; character of population, 30; government and politics—form of government, 40, party politics, 40, 41, political and administrative problems, 43, tone of Chicago politics, 41, 42, 224, 225; growth of the city, 29; institutions—churches, 34, 35, libraries, 32, 33, newspapers, 31, 32, schools, 33, 34
- Chicago Free Public Library, 32
- Chicago Historical Association, 32
- Clay, Cassius M., 20
- Clay, Henry, 11, 12
- Citizens ticket, 75
- Cleveland, Grover, 198, 280
- Cleveland Leader, The*, 210
- Courtney, Thomas E., 139
- Crane, Oliver, 18
- Cregier, DeWitt C., 74, 112, 141, 144, 185
- Cullerton, Ed., 242
- Daily News, The Chicago*, 31, 70, 140, 153, 253
- Depew, Chauncey M., 102 n.
- DeWolf, Dr., 87, 247
- Dixon, Arthur, 111, 242
- Doyle, Austin, 139
- Drake, John B., 100, 101
- Dreyer, E. S., 250
- Dunlap, Geo. L., 138
- Early background (Kentucky): economic, 9 ff.; political, 12 ff.; social, 10 ff.
- Early years in Chicago: business man, 26 ff.; settles in Chicago, 25, 26
- Economic groups, Harrison's strength with: business men and capitalists, 181, 182; labor, 182 ff.; middle class, 181
- Education, 16 ff.
- Ender, John, 252
- Eulalia, Princess, 159, 265
- Field, Marshall, 39, 126, 183
- Fire-proof ticket, 63, 135
- Forsythe, John, 247
- Goodwin, John, 183
- Gosnell, Harold F., viii

- Gowdy, W. C., 71
 Greeleyites, 64, 136
 Greenback-labor party, 68, 137
- Harrison, Carter Henry I: background summarized, 268 ff.; impress upon Chicago politics, 282, 283; a local politician, 279 ff.; luck in career of, 279; most significant characteristics of, 283 ff.; technique summarized, 274 ff.; traits summarized, 270 ff., *see* Ancestry, Business administration, Campaign issues, Campaign strategy, Career in Kentucky, Early background, Early years in Chicago, Economic groups, Education, Mental traits, Messages to Council, Methods of handling the Council, Newspapers, Nominations, Oratory, Physical characteristics, Political administration, Political career, Political groups, Private life, Protestant clergy, Races and nationalities, Social groups, Temperamental traits, Travels, Veto power
- Harrison, Carter Henry II, xii, 7 n., 178 n., 282
- Harrison, Mrs. Carter Henry II, 48
- Harrison, William Preston, xii
- Harrison and Chicago: his boasts of the city, 44; he foresees its future, 45, most typical citizen, 45
- Harrison and Cleveland: unfriendliness, 153; relative strength, 198
- Harrisons, The Benjamin, 4 ff.
- Harrisons, The Carter Henry, 6 ff.
- Haymarket riot, 41, 72
- Hesing, A. C., 221
- Hesing, Washington, 139, 144, 198
- Hesings, The, 31
- Hickey, Mike, 247
- Hoffman, Francis, Jr., 139
- Honore, H. H., 47, 52
- Howard, Annie, 48
- Howard, Jonas, 38
- Hughes, Thomas, 33
- Ingersoll, Robert, 106
- Inter-Ocean*, 31, 37, 116, 165, 176, 186, 196, 255, 256, 264
- Johnson, William S., 211
- Jonas, Julius, 225
- Kehoe, Miles, 247
- Keith, E. G., 157
- Kerford, Samuel, 52
- Kohlsaat, H. H., 31
- Kraus, Adolf, xii, 65, 121, 139, 141, 144, 144 n., 186, 195
- Kretschmer, Ernst, 82
- Lansing, Rev. I. J., 201
- Law and Order party, 43
- Lawler, Frank, 169
- Lawson, Victor, 32, 114, 123, 188
- Leiter, Levi Z., 39
- Logan, John A., 149
- Mackin, Joe, 42, 139, 149, 151
- Mail, The*, 206
- Marshall, Dr. Lewis, 12
- Medill, Joseph, 31, 33, 43, 63, 64, 136, 260
- Mental traits: capacity for details, 103, 104; capacity for mental development, 104, 105; capacity for observation, 94; foresight, 100 ff.; inventive ability, 95, 96; judgment, 99, 100; memory, 103; mental poise, 102; problem-solving ability, 95; resourcefulness, 96 ff.; type of mind, 93, 94
- Merriam, Charles E., Introduction by, vii
- Messages to Council (other than veto): annual messages, 237, 238; special messages, 235 ff.
- Methods of handling the Council: earnest appeal, 240, 241; humor, 239, 240; individual conference, 242; kindly persuasion, 238, 239, 242; sarcasm, 240, 241, 242
- Minneapolis Tribune*, 90
- Moore, Samuel, 52
- Morrison, W. R., 71
- Most, Johann, 41
- Munro, W. B., 268
- McCormick, Cyrus H., 37

- McDonald, Mike, 139, 186, 187, 188, 208, 286
- McPherson, Rev. S. J., 202
- Neue Freie Presse*, 221
- Newberry, Walter I., 32, 33
- Newspapers: character of attacks upon Harrison, 206 ff.; in Chicago, 31, 32; effect of newspaper criticism upon Harrison, 211, 212; the foreign-language press, 220 ff.; Harrison as a newspaper publisher, 217 ff.; Harrison counter-attacks the press, 212 ff.; Harrison's friends, the reporters, 216, 217
- Nixon, Wm. Penn, 31
- Nominations: for Congress, 64 ff., 136; for county commissioner, 64, 135, 136; for governor, 70, 71, 145, 146; for mayor, 68 ff., 71 ff., 136 ff.; Senate, aspirations for, 71, 145, 146
- Oglesby, Richard J., 71, 183, 280
- Orator, Harrison as an: campaign speeches, 163 ff.; characteristics as a speaker, 168 ff.; first speech, 161, 162; occasional addresses, 170, 171
- Owsley, Mrs. Heaton, xii, 9
- Owsley, John E., 52
- Palmer, Potter, 38, 39, 52
- Peel, Roy V., viii
- Peoples party, 43
- Personal rights league, 130
- Phelps, Erskine, 71
- Physical characteristics: appearance, 83; diet, 87, 88; dress, 83, 84; endurance, 84 ff.; energy, 89; exercise, 88, 89; features, 82 ff.; health, 86, 87; manner, 90; size, 81 ff.; sleep, 88; strength, 84 ff.; voice, 90, 91
- Political administration: use of favors, 255 ff.; use of patronage and spoils, 245 ff.; use of officeholders, 251 ff.
- Political career, sketch of: beginnings, 62 ff.; congressman, 64 ff.; the gubernatorial race, 70, 71; the mayoralty—Harrison's fall, 71 ff.; the mayoralty—Harrison's rise, 68 ff.; triumph of Harrison, 73 ff.
- Political groups, Harrison's strength with: Democrats, 174 ff.; Republicans, 176 ff.; Socialists, 178 ff.
- Poole, William F., 33
- Preston, Miss (first wife of Harrison), 23
- Private life: the family—children, 49 ff., first wife, 47, 48, second wife, 48; friends—in all classes, 52, 53, particular friends, 52; recreations—circus, 57, horseback riding, 53, nature lover, 54, 55, pets, 54, reader, 56, 57
- Protestant clergy, the: attacks Harrison, 201, 202; enmity of does not injure Harrison, 203 ff.; Harrison replies to, 202, 203
- Pullman, George M., 37
- Races and nationalities, Harrison's strength with: Bohemian, 194, 195; German, 190 ff.; the German's coat, 196, 197; Irish, 192 ff.; Negro, 98, 196; Scandinavian, 194
- Rend, W. P., 122, 183
- Robertson, Pearl, viii
- Rogers, John C., 52, 163
- Russell, Caroline, 7, 8, 9, 15
- Russell, Col. William, 7
- Slavery, 19 ff.
- Smith, Sidney, 98, 149, 156
- Social groups, Harrison's strength with: gamblers, saloon-keepers, etc., 185 ff.; middle class, 188; upper class, 188
- Staats-Zeitung, The Illinois*, 31, 191, 192
- Stearns, Marguerite, 48
- Stevenson, Marietta, viii
- Stone, Melville E., 31
- Stone, R. B., 139
- Storey, Wilbur F., 31
- Storrs, Emory A., 153
- Temperamental traits: ability to cooperate, 128 ff.; capacity for organization, 130; courage, 116 ff.; desire for applause and fame, 120, 121; dramatic qualities, 118 ff.; egotism, 123 ff.; geniality, 107, 108; a gentleman of the old school, 106, 107; goodness of heart, 111, 112; impatience, 127, 128; integrity, 112 ff.; love of pageantry,

- 120; optimism, 108, 109; personal insight, 115, 116; sense of fair play, 110; sense of humor, 109; sensitiveness to criticism, 122; sincerity, 112 ff.; social insight, 114; tactlessness, 126, 127
- Times, The Chicago*, 31, 53, 66, 99, 100, 114, 121, 138, 152, 154, 169, 178, 206, 209, 212, 217, 220, 223, 246
- Transylvania University, 12
- Travels: early travels, 21 ff.; later travels, 58, ff.
- Tree, Lambert, 52, 162
- Tribune, The Chicago*, 7, 19, 31, 69, 70, 90, 97, 99, 108, 124, 149, 150, 165, 166, 173, 177, 201, 212, 213, 246, 248, 249, 256, 265, 277
- True American, The*, 20
- Tuley, Murray F., 138
- Varagua, Duke of, 171 n., 265
- Veto power, Harrison's use of: appropriation ordinances, 227 ff.; characteristics of, 232 ff.; checks grants to public utilities companies, 229 ff.; general use of, 231, 232
- Walsh, John R., 284
- Washburne, Hempstead, 74
- Weeks, Harvey T., 136
- Westen, Der*, 191
- William and Mary, College of, 6
- Winston, F. H., 52
- Wright, A. M., 138
- Young Men's Association, 32



